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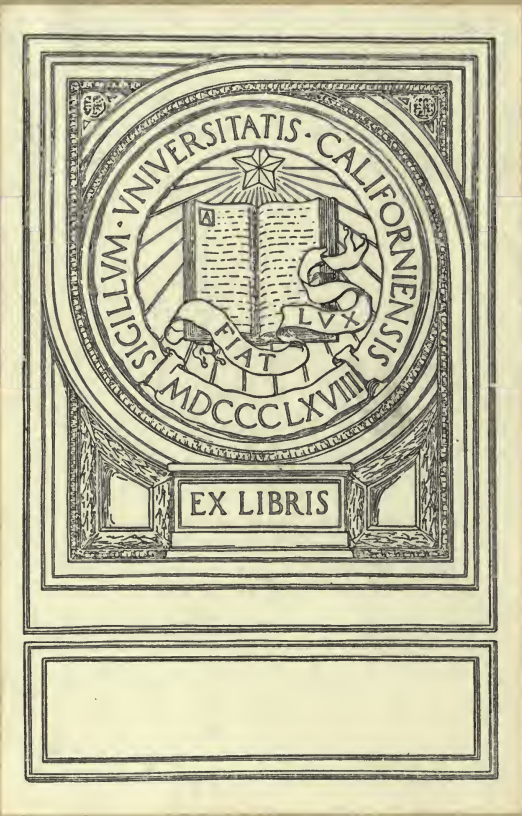


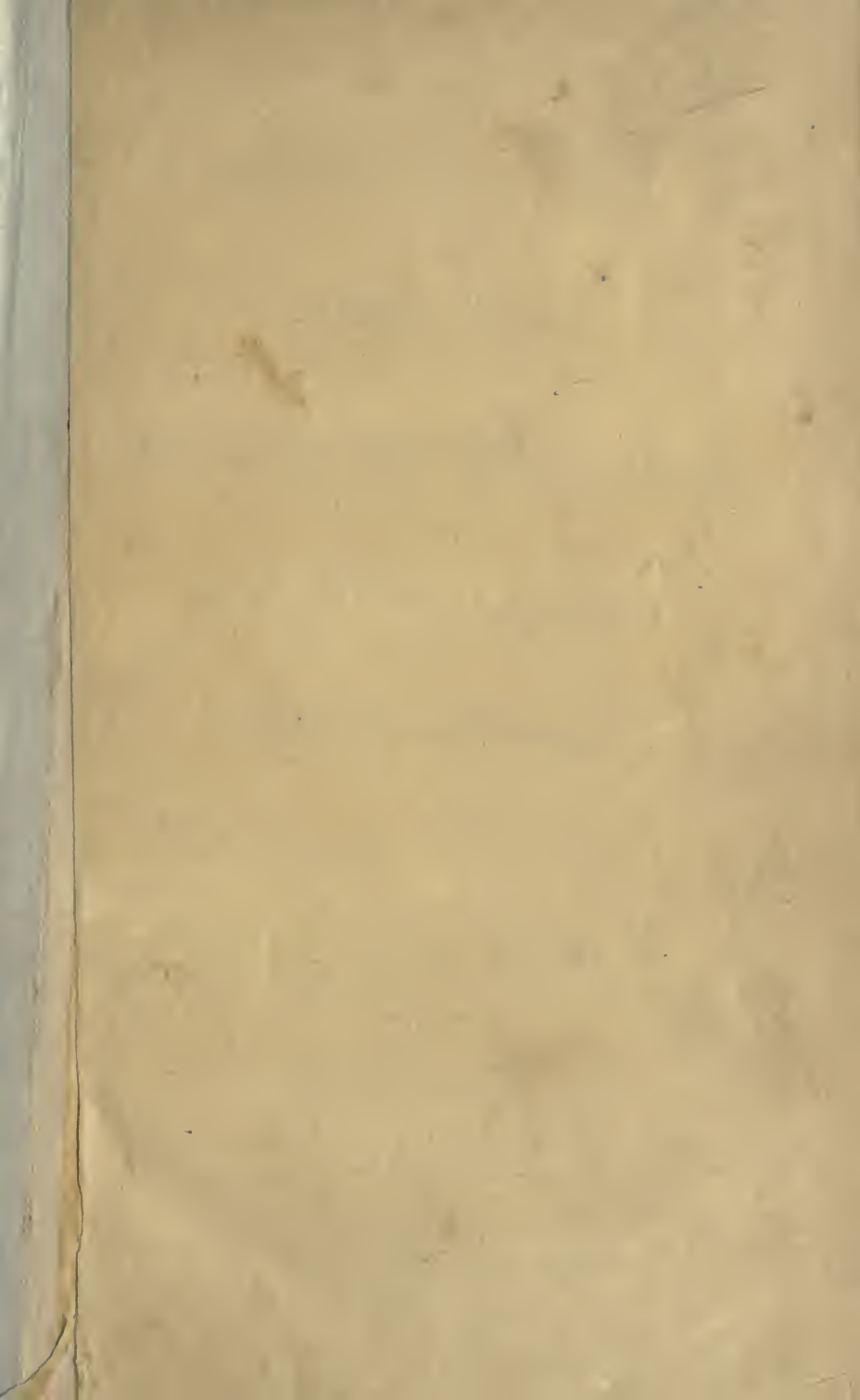
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THE ISLAND  
OF  
TRINIDAD

MDCCCXLI.

2.





a.

*the Hon.*  
*Lord Granville Somerset, M. P.*  
*From the Author.*

OBSERVATIONS  
ON THE  
PRESENT CONDITION  
OF THE  
ISLAND OF TRINIDAD,  
AND THE  
ACTUAL STATE OF THE EXPERIMENT  
OF  
NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

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BY  
WILLIAM HARDIN BURNLEY,  
CHAIRMAN OF THE AGRICULTURAL AND IMMIGRATION SOCIETY  
IN THAT COLONY.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
OBSERVATIONS on the present Condition of Trinidad	- 3
REPORT and RESOLUTIONS of the Committee	- 45
<b>EVIDENCE</b>	<b>QUEST.</b>
of <i>St. Luce Philip</i> , M.D., and Proprietor and Planter	- 1 - 49
of Mr. <i>Frederick Maxwell</i> , Planter	- 26 - 51
of <i>William Meikleham</i> , M.D., and Proprietor and Planter	- 54 - 53
of Rev. Mr. <i>Mühlhauser</i> , Protestant Minister	- 88 - 56
of Reverend <i>J. H. Hamilton</i> , Protestant Minister	- 108 - 58
of <i>R. S. Darling</i> , Esq., Merchant and Planting Attorney	- 165 - 64
Ditto	- 266 - 76
of <i>W. Hamilton</i> , Esq., Lieut. R. N., Agent for Trinidad at Sierra Leone	- 188 - 67
of <i>J. A. Giuseppi</i> , Esq., Stipendiary Magistrate	- 302 - 81
of <i>S. J. Prescod</i> , Esq., Editor of the "Liberal," Barbados	- 360 - 86
of <i>Frederick Brown</i> , Esq., Surveyor	- 387 - 89
Ditto	- 454 - 99
of The Bishop of <i>Agna</i> , Roman Catholic	- 415 - 94
of <i>Lewis Pantin</i> , Esq., Ex-Colonial Secretary and Proprietor,	455 - 99
of <i>H. N. Huggins</i> , Esq., Proprietor and Planter	- 485 - 102
of <i>David Lockhart</i> , Esq., Professor of Botany	- 501 - 104
of <i>Martin Sorsano</i> , Esq., Surveyor-General	- 529 - 107
of <i>W. G. Knox</i> , Esq., Barrister	- 565 - 110
of <i>John Carter</i> , Esq., Magistrate	- 576 - 113
of <i>Lionel Lee</i> , Esq., Proprietor and Planter	- 591 - 115
of <i>John Butter</i> , Esq., M. R. C. S.	- 629 - 120
of <i>R. H. Stewart</i> , Esq., Harbour-Master	- 643 - 122
of <i>T. F. Johnston</i> , Esq., Assistant Colonial Secretary, and Agent-General for Immigrants	- 657 - 124
<b>APPENDIX</b>	<b>- 127</b>

# OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

STATE AND CONDITION OF THE COLONY

OF

TRINIDAD.

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*[The Figures in the margin refer to the Questions in the Evidence.]*

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SEVEN years have now passed away since slavery was abolished throughout the British dominions by an Act of the Imperial Parliament; and three years have elapsed since the labouring population of the West Indies have been put into possession of social and political advantages, unexampled in extent at any period of history.

Yet the question, "Has the great experiment of negro emancipation succeeded?" is still asked, not merely by ordinary inquirers, but by philosophers and statesmen who have access to all printed documents, private or official, and whose chief business is investigation. It is impossible that doubts could exist with respect to important transactions in such near dependencies, where seventeen governors are writing and forwarding despatches by every packet, and from whence numerous public journals, hundreds of letters, and many ocular witnesses are continually arriving, unless the truth were obscured by the misrepresentations of party spirit.





endeavouring to mystify the public of Great Britain with reference to many important circumstances.

In the hope of assisting to clear away the confusion and obscurity resulting from these various causes, the Immigration and Agricultural Society of Trinidad collected the annexed evidence on which the present observations are founded. The whole is now submitted to the public as information which may be useful to every impartial inquirer in his endeavours to ascertain the true state of this great and interesting experiment—interesting, above all, in its future consequences to the human race, as there can be no rational hope of the extinction of slavery unless it succeed.

It is proper, however, to remark, that the materials here collected belong solely to the Island of Trinidad, and can only be taken as a sample of what may be expected in colonies similarly situated. An acute inquirer, nevertheless, will find, not only in their close agreement with results exhibited by some colonies, whose circumstances with respect to territory and population are analogous to those of Trinidad, but also in their wide difference with others where no such analogies exist, a confirmation of truths essential to the solution of the problem of profitable free labour. Moreover, the study of the progress of this experiment, in Trinidad especially, is important in another point of view. In the first place, it is a Crown colony—that is, governed in Great Britain: the inhabitants possess neither charter, legislature, nor municipal authority, by which to oppose any regulations established. The experiment therefore has, in Trinidad, been made exclusively under the guardianship and responsibility of Government. Secondly, there exists in that island an equality among all ranks, unparalleled elsewhere; the proprietor of large estates having no more political weight than the poorest

labourer. None of the evils, therefore, which have arisen in that colony can be imputed either to the power or hostility of the planters. Further, there has existed no combination among them to depress wages, nor have any efforts been made to exact rents: the former having been paid lavishly, and cottages gratuitously furnished. Finally, no religious differences have tended to increase the difficulties of the experiment. It has had throughout in that island the fullest and freest course, and the results, consequently, depend upon, and may be traced back to, causes less complicated than those exhibited by other colonies.

Some slight pretension to an acquaintance with the theory of the subject may be discerned in the course of these observations, which the Committee, in consideration of the grave circumstances that have forced the study of it upon their attention, trust will be excused. To a larger share of practical knowledge they boldly lay claim, and flatter themselves that, in the present improved state of public feeling, this will no longer be considered a disqualification for the task. In its performance they have exerted a conscientious determination to elicit truth; and they ask, for the whole, only a patient and fair examination.

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If we inquire into the state of slavery at any period or in any place, we find it uniformly simple. Brute force and implicit obedience are its ruling principles, and it only varies in the greater or less degree of intensity in which these are applied.

Free labour, on the contrary, is governed only by the moral force of necessity; but being modified by every form of social and political government, by climate and by local position, it is found in various shapes, from the simplest, which commences amongst the Hunter tribes in North America, and, running onward through every gradation of pastoral and

agricultural life, ends at last in the complicated system which rules one hundred millions of labourers in our Eastern Empire, where policy and priestcraft have for a series of ages so bound them in the institutions of caste, that their moral faculties have become enchained, and it is now occasionally difficult to distinguish the ryot from the slave.

Even in the civilized states of Europe, so similar to each other in many respects, free labour is found to vary considerably. It is powerfully affected, in addition to the causes already mentioned, by the different systems of taxation prevailing in each; and wherever the united influences of climate, locality, government and taxation operate most stringently, there the most steady and industrious labour is produced, which is illustrated in the contrasts exhibited by the Neapolitan, for whom nature has so liberally provided, and the Hollander, compelled to make the soil on which he lives. But at no time and in no place has free labour (as it is termed) been exempt from a moral compulsion; it is nowhere found pleasing to man; and it is always the result of a hard necessity which has been imposed upon him.

These remarks upon the origin and diversity of free labour, although sufficiently trite, are introduced to show the necessity which existed of considering and selecting beforehand, from amongst the great varieties alluded to, the particular system of free labour which we intended to adopt in our colonies; and of carefully framing, some time previous to the extinction of slavery, all the regulations under which the system selected should be explained and enforced. Surprising as it may appear, nothing of the kind was attempted; and one of the most extraordinary circumstances attending this important experiment was the entire absence of all preparation with which it was entered upon App. (D.) on the 1st August 1838.

It is still more surprising when we reflect that this neglect did not arise from any ignorance of the necessity of preparation, for it appears that Government was previously well aware of the evils which would inevitably arise in the colony at the change from apprenticeship to freedom, unless proper regulations were adopted to prevent them. This fact is ascertained from a despatch addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor of Trinidad on the 30th January 1836.

App. (B.)

The tone of this communication betrays anxiety and symptoms of uneasiness at the approaching change; and danger is apprehended from it to property and the permanent interests of society, unless precautionary measures are observed. It distinctly admits that, if the staple productions are to be kept up, something must be devised to ensure labour, and check the natural course which the negro population would otherwise be disposed to take. Difficulty is foreseen in effecting this, which is nevertheless declared to be necessary to protect capital, and prevent society from being thrown back into a rude state. This despatch shows, also, that a most material point was well understood, and that it was then foreseen that a deficient population was at the root of all the difficulties apprehended, for it is therein distinctly stated to be "the object of Government to condense" and keep together the population in such a manner "that it may always contain a due proportion of labourers." Difficulties are pointed out as connected with the Crown lands and the uncultivated portions held by individuals. The nature of the regulations by which the former should be protected are fully explained, and the advantage to be derived from a cession of the latter is very properly suggested. Finally, the Governor's attention is forcibly directed to the mischief which would arise from the intrusion of squatters upon uncultivated lands, as a matter to be specially guarded against.

The foreknowledge of the evils with which the coming change menaced the colony, and the spirit of determination to avert them which this despatch exhibits, are excellent; but, unfortunately, it ordered nothing, decided nothing, and only called upon the Lieutenant-Governor for information, which was never given, and apparently has never again been asked for.

481.

One only attempt was made to carry into effect the desirable measures suggested. In October 1838, an Order in Council was issued to prevent intrusion (or "squatting") upon uncultivated land, and the "Forms of Proceeding" necessary to be observed in its various stages were directed to be prepared by the Lieutenant-Governor, and then submitted to the Chief Judge for approval. This was done; but whoever was the author of the "Forms of Proceeding" had the misfortune to frame them so little in accordance with the object of the Order, that both have proved, from that day, a perfect nullity; whilst the evils of squatting are increasing to a mischievous extent. Both the order and the forms of proceeding will be found in the Appendix; and the evidence upon the subject given by an intelligent barrister of the highest standing in the colony will show the inefficient result of the only attempt ever made to give effect to a variety of important measures, which, as far back as 1836, were admitted to be essentially necessary to create a sufficient density of population, ensure labour for wages, protect capital from depreciation, and prevent society from relapsing into original barbarism,—measures which, if faithfully, decisively and promptly carried into execution, would have spared the colony the present crisis, and given, even at this early period, a triumphant issue to the great experiment of free labour.

App. (C.)

565.

It is to be lamented that the principles developed

in the despatch of 1836 should ever have been lost sight of. Had they been studied and followed out to their legitimate conclusions, it would soon have been perceived that very different measures of legislation would be required in different colonies; that in those where a dense population existed, the social power would, immediately upon the extinction of slavery, fall naturally into the hands of the proprietors; whilst in others differently circumstanced, and particularly in Trinidad, the first effect of the change would be to render the labouring population the master class, and require the whole influence of the colonial government to be thrown into the scale of the planters to preserve a just equilibrium in society. But this necessity seems never to have been understood; the same spirit of legislation has, by an unfortunate mistake, prevailed indiscriminately in them all. The sympathies of the nation and of Government have been uniformly displayed in favour of the negroes, under the erroneous impression that they must everywhere be the weaker party; and the whole care of the colonial authorities has been invariably exerted in guarding against the dreaded usurpations of proprietors, who in some colonies were divested of every particle of power, and literally unable to protect themselves against the encroaching exactions of the labourers.\*

461.

607.

It cannot be alleged in extenuation of this fatal error that the colonists of Trinidad took no very active steps to promote or to call for the measures suggested in the despatch of January 1836. It has already been stated that, as a community, they are deprived of every political privilege but that of complaint; and in a case where Government had

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\* See Appendix (A.), letter 26 March. The Lieutenant-Governor hesitates as to the mode of abating the evil of distributing rum, lest it should excite "the discontent and hostility of the labouring population."

promised so fairly and so liberally, they might naturally feel it to be their duty to wait the result in patient submission.

But under no circumstances can the want of a timely application from any colony be considered a valid excuse for the delay of measures required to promote the success of free labour. This is no petty West Indian question; it belongs to the great cause of humanity and justice throughout the world. Boldly and proudly the British nation and Government stepped forward and claimed it as their own when they abolished slavery, and to them alone will belong the merit of success or the disgrace of failure.

Neither can the inhabitants of Trinidad be fairly blamed for not having pointed out the specific system of free labour best adapted to the circumstances of their island, for they were practically acquainted with no system but that of slave labour, and they naturally entertained the simple idea, that the system which prevailed in the mother country, whose boast had ever been the superiority of her free institutions, would, as a matter of course, be the one introduced,—a system of labour which had been gradually improved through many generations, from the period when it emerged from slavery; affording, apparently, throughout all its stages a natural guide and safe precedent; and from which such copious illustrations had been drawn, both in and out of Parliament, in favour of the superiority of free labour, as not only to imply, but positively to hold out a moral pledge, that it would be the system established in the colonies at the abolition of slavery.

In this natural expectation the colonists were disappointed. It appears to have been determined that our coloured peasantry in the tropics, where nature invites to indolence, and where the absolute wants of life are few, should be subjected to a less

App. (E.) stringent system than our white peasantry of Britain, whose rigorous climate calls for continuous exertion to ensure a livelihood; without adverting to numerous weighty influences connected with taxation and government, all operating to the same effect, and which apparently should rather have led to the selection of the reverse of the rule adopted.

It falls in no way within the province of these observations to speculate upon different forms of political government or their relative advantages. Yet it may be permitted to those, whom the foregoing decision has severely affected, to remark, that every government, whatever its form and principle, must remain consistent with itself to ensure stability; and that to apply the machinery of democracy to a constitutional monarchy, by denying judicial and official rank to the upper classes of the community, and depriving them, in consequence, of the social and political influence which not only naturally attaches to property under such an institution, but is essentially necessary to its support, is a dangerous experiment, at whatever distance from the heart of the empire it may be made. In the present instance, the locality and the distance engender another risk, for we find that in the early settlement of all colonies there is a natural tendency towards the equality of democracy, arising from physical strength being necessarily more in demand for felling the forest, and supplying the coarser wants of life, than the powers of intelligence and capital. The one naturally rises in the estimation of the community, whilst the others are proportionably depressed; and this tendency has already produced some inconvenient friction in the working of the ties by which Great Britain and her colonial dependencies are connected. Can it be wise to encourage this natural tendency to democracy, by bestowing protection exclusively upon the lower classes? and favouring, by the whole tenor of our



official appointments, an opinion that the functions which legitimately belong to a resident proprietary body in England, as well as the social and political influence inseparably connected in a monarchy with a gradation of ranks, are superfluous in any of our colonies? Such a policy may work consequences hereafter neither expected nor desired by many who now so inconsiderately support it. App. (F.)

For the last three years, Trinidad has been suffering under the evils anticipated in the despatch of January 1836. The staple productions have declined, and would have done so more rapidly if labourers had not been attracted from the neighbouring islands by a continual rise in wages, which, unfortunately, had at the same time the counteracting effect of repressing industry within the colony, so that the amount of work performed remained nearly stationary, notwithstanding the influx of additional numbers. 537.

This result would seem to contradict the expectation of finding a remedy in increased immigration, but the apparent inconsistency is easily explained. So long as there is not labour sufficient to enable a proprietor to cultivate all the land he holds, a portion of it will be valueless, and he will be tempted, when pressed by pecuniary difficulties, to sell it for a small consideration. Freeholds will consequently be easily acquired, and labour for wages become proportionably scarce. But whenever a sufficient population shall enable him to cultivate his own lands profitably, this practice will cease. Sound policy, therefore, prescribes that as little time as possible should be lost in introducing the number of labourers required, by which means alone can a wholesome competition be created amongst them, wages be reduced to a fair rate, and the idleness, vagrancy, and other bad habits now rapidly increasing, be speedily and effectually checked. App. (H.) App. (G.)

To effect these purposes, immigration bills have been passed in the colony, but with very little success; for the plan proposed met with decided hostility from the anti-slavery party, and (when no positive objections were made) with a reluctant and tardy acquiescence on the part of the Government.

No attempt will be made to describe the ruin now impending over the planter; but the attention of the friends of humanity is earnestly called to the condition of the negro labourer, for whose benefit the great national movement, which ended in the abolition of slavery, first commenced. They are entreated to consider the position in which we shall stand as a nation in the eyes of the world, should the result of our measures plunge him into a gulph of vice and misery. Let them read the evidence, and, passing, if they please, over the statements of the planters, attend only to the opinions of the magistrates and clergy, to those who can have no other interest than the establishment of religion and moral order throughout the colony; and then let them consider the state of helpless destitution into which the labouring classes of Trinidad will be thrown when the proprietor is ruined, and wages for labour cease. They will have no private resources on which to depend when the hour of trial arrives. The majority spend what they earn in idle amusements, and the more thrifty in purchasing lots of  
 490. land, with little regard to its powers of production, but chiefly on account of its vicinity to towns and places of amusement. Cultivation on their own  
 649. account they have nearly abandoned, and rely upon imported provisions. Waste of time and dissipation in every shape are exhibited throughout the evidence. And, notwithstanding the liberal sums which have been expended in churches and schools, the only improvement they have manifested since emancipation, is in dress, attendance at church, and marriage; all excellent in themselves, but little

adapted to assist a man struggling with poverty, and in want of employment. Amongst other demoralizing influences, they possess in a great degree impunity for all crimes and misdemeanors, for the planter is afraid to inform against them, lest they withhold their labour, which to him would be ruinous; and it is only when the mischief resulting from forbearance exceeds this risk that they are taken before a stipendiary court, where, if convicted, they escape punishment by paying a fine, which is easily managed in consequence of the great competition for their services. This exemption from personal punishment by incarceration is in England confined to the upper ranks, which is continually complained of; and it strikingly illustrates the bias in favour of the lower classes in our colonies, that a privilege, impatiently submitted to in favour of our aristocracy at home, should have been designedly conceded to the labourer in Trinidad; for it appears that the stipendiary magistrate is restricted from awarding imprisonment, except in default of payment of the fine.

323.

322.

The description which has been given of the moral condition of the labourers in Trinidad is in no respect exaggerated; the evidence would admit of a much stronger representation.

The stipendiary magistrate of St. Joseph, when speaking of the frequency of drunken quarrels, states that "the mischief is increasing every day; it is now becoming more prevalent than formerly amongst the women, and if the practice is continued for two or three years longer, it will demoralize the whole labouring population; and I have observed that the vice of gambling is increasing almost every day. I thought it my duty to take the advice of the Attorney-general upon the subject, who informed me that I could not interfere with it in private houses, although, from the nature of

351.

“ our climate and construction of the houses, with  
 “ all the doors and windows open, it is quite as  
 “ public as in the streets. You can hear the  
 “ dollars clinking, and see the parties playing as  
 “ you pass along, and this occurs more frequently  
 “ on the Sunday than on any other day.”

428. “ I have been so much alarmed,” says the Catholic  
 Bishop of Agna, when alluding to the excessive con-  
 sumption of rum, “ by the reports made to me by  
 “ the clergy of my church, established in the rural  
 “ districts, that I felt it to be my duty to visit the  
 “ estates personally, with the view of pointing out  
 “ to the labouring population the evils which must  
 “ occur from a perseverance in this pernicious  
 “ habit, which, unless checked, I am satisfied will  
 “ so demoralize and enfeeble them before ten years  
 “ elapse, that they will be unable to work for their  
 “ own subsistence.”

115. The correctness of these statements cannot be  
 questioned. Every clergyman examined has testi-  
 fied nearly to the same effect. Neither can we  
 flatter ourselves that the vices complained of are  
 the relics of slavery gradually dying away ; for they  
 are stated to have taken a new and vigorous shoot  
 since emancipation. In fact, it is impossible to  
 avoid confessing that they are the result of our own  
 mistaken legislation. Discarding the lessons of  
 experience, we have allowed ourselves to be hurried  
 away by feeling and passion alone ; and, shocked at  
 the oppression hitherto exercised upon an unfortu-  
 nate race, we have erred in the contrary extreme,  
 and have exempted them even from necessary  
 restraint ; forgetting that the whole condition of  
 our lives is a tissue of complicated restrictions  
 (intolerable to the Indian of the forest, or the  
 Arab of the plain, but which education and habit  
 have enabled us to bear), and that our first duty  
 towards the negroes in their new-born state of free-

dom was to have endeavoured, as early as possible, to accustom them to the salutary yoke which christianity and civilization impose upon us all.

Nothing can exhibit a stronger proof of the danger of allowing our sympathies, even in favour of those who have been oppressed, to interfere with the rigid impartiality which safe legislation requires than the result of our proceedings with respect to contracts of service ; and it is here particularly noticed, because a more than ordinary unanimity prevailed amongst all parties on that subject ; the planters at the time fully approving of the course pursued.

In consequence of the deranged state into which the larger colonies were thrown by the abrupt termination of negro apprenticeship in 1838, proprietors were forced into extraordinary efforts to acquire a command of labour ; and contracts of service with persons abroad, at low rates of remuneration and long periods of time, were resorted to as the most feasible expedient. It was easy to perceive that such a system, if unrestricted, would soon involve the labouring class in another species of slavery, from which even the proprietor might derive no benefit ; for it had been observed that to bind an apprentice for any length of time to the performance of labour, on terms less favourable than those enjoyed by individuals around him, was difficult ; and that the attempt to coerce him by legal penalties was productive of no advantage to either party. Here were certainly good and sufficient grounds for serious inquiry into the whole subject of contracts, to ascertain if these evils could not be avoided by modifications with respect to time and terms of service ; but it was found easier to dispose of all difficulties by rendering every contract of labour made out of the colony illegal. The effect of this has been to prevent combined labour altogether, for it is found that no negro in the colony will engage

671. to work, even for a single day ; rendering it impossible to conduct a manufactory economically. The distressing inconvenience to which a planter is in consequence subjected can hardly be imagined in this country. From many instances the following only will be selected. When he orders the steam in the engine-boiler to be raised in the morning, he is uncertain whether a sufficient number of hands can be procured to carry on the work of the day. It frequently happens that they cannot, and he is obliged to abandon the attempt, after a great waste of time, labour and fuel. But it was not to point out the hardships of the planter that the illegality of contracts made out of the island was alluded to ; but to show the lamentable evils which that ordinance has entailed upon the negro population. The moment a vessel with immigrants arrives in the harbour of Port of Spain, she is surrounded by agents, who are paid so much per head for every labourer they engage for the parties employing them ; and the planters who reside in the most inconvenient and unhealthy districts, who are the worst accommodated in respect to cottages, markets and medical practitioners, and who have the least means and resources, always make the most extravagant promises. Allured by the hope of high wages and extra allowances, the immigrant probably breaks an engagement he had previously formed with others, who may have been at some trouble and expense in bringing him into the colony, and locates himself in an unfavourable situation. He soon finds his expectations grievously disappointed. In the hope of improvement, he removes to an adjoining estate, from that to a third, and acquires at last a roving habit, which becomes irresistible. The Committee are convinced that the alarming vagrancy now so prevalent in the colony is imputable solely to this cause, as it is principally confined to immigrants. The African is found to be

naturally attached to the spot which he inhabits, and our injudicious legislation in this respect could alone have inspired him with habits of vagrancy; for even the peon, who migrates annually from the adjoining continent to labour in Trinidad, regularly returns, when crop is over, to his accustomed home. The evil of vagrancy might have been avoided if contracts of service made abroad, instead of being totally dispensed with, had been limited to a short and reasonable period, under such conditions with respect to time, subsistence and medical attendance, as would have ensured the comfort and well-being of the immigrant. Such an arrangement would have secured to him perfect protection on his arrival, instead of leaving him, as at present, a prey to the seductions of a negro crimp. Under the influences of a comfortable home, his natural habits of attachment to the soil would have been confirmed, and the great probability is that he would have settled down steadily in the spot where he was first located. Of the extent to which vagrancy is now carried in Trinidad, no person can form an idea without perusing the evidence. It has baffled every effort of the executive government for the last three years to take a census of the population, which cannot be found stationary long enough to be counted. It impedes the course of justice, for no sooner is an individual cited to appear before a court than he absconds; for he is aware that he can set himself down in any part of that extensive island, unquestioned by, and unknown to, the authorities; and it is impossible for even the most efficient police to trace him.

540.

178.

The circumstances described constitute a bad school in which to train an individual brought into the colony at a considerable expense, in the expectation of his becoming a steady labourer in a sugar manufactory. If only this evil attached to the ordinance, it would be objectionable; but how much

more so when viewed in connexion with the misery it entails upon the party it was intended to benefit. All strangers are liable to what is termed a seasoning fever within the first year of their residence, and the vagrancy alluded to gives additional certainty and severity to its attack. In this distressing condition, the immigrant can claim the benefit of no contract ; he knows no one to whom he can fairly appeal for medical care, or common nourishment ; he is probably a stranger in the district into which he may have wandered the day before ; and there is but one public hospital in the colony, which may be forty or fifty miles distant. Some find their way thither ; and the evidence of the agent-general of immigrants, and the surgeon in charge of the hospital, describe their fate—“ numerous instances occur of their being sent up to town in a wretched  
 668. “ low state ;” they are “ brought into the hospital in  
 636. “ a dying state, in fact, brought in to be buried.”

The Committee freely acknowledge that they originally approved of the ordinance, by which contracts of service made out of the island were prohibited ; but they now see their error, and to ensure the comfort and happiness of the immigrants, they strongly urge the necessity of legalizing them, for a period of not less than six nor exceeding twelve months ; but the latter would be the most advantageous, as it would afford them the experience of one entire revolution of the seasons before they were called upon to provide for themselves. The Committee are convinced that by these means the distressing cases described would be avoided ; for no such mortality occurred amongst the American refugee slaves who arrived in the colony in 1815, to the number of nearly one thousand ; nor amongst the larger body of liberated Africans sent in 1835 from Cuba ; although many of the last were in the low, emaciated condition in which these  
 641. unhappy beings are usually landed from slave ves-



sels. In both the above cases they were provided, for some time after their arrival, with medical care and attention, and subjected to moderate temporary restrictions, from which no inconvenience was ever experienced. Some difficulties attended the American settlement, but they arose entirely from the circumstance of the refugees having been located on land given to them for the purpose of providing for themselves by its cultivation, instead of encouraging them to earn their subsistence by wages as labourers. In the case of the liberated Africans, that error was avoided, and no difficulties of any description ensued. They were distributed amongst the settled estates, where they so rapidly acquired habits of civilization from those around them, that it is not easy at present, after the lapse only of five years, to distinguish them (except by their country marks) from the natives.

The substantial advantages which an immigrant would derive from a contract of service for a short period of time have now been fully stated, and it will be but fair to reply to the objections which may be urged against it. It must first, however, be understood, that the Committee recommend a fixed form of indenture, to be framed by Government, in which every thing materially requisite for the comfort and well-being of the immigrant shall be inserted; and further, that on the arrival of the party in the colony, the whole (including even those matters which must be left to the private agreement of the parties) to be submitted to the examination of the colonial authorities, and, if found equitable, receive their sanction to give it validity and effect in the island. But even then it will be alleged, that although a servant may have made what he considered an excellent bargain, according to the information he then possessed, yet, on arrival in Trinidad, he may find his wages lower than those of the labourers in the neighbourhood (which they

must be, in consideration of the articles gratuitously provided for him); that he will then naturally be discontented, will attempt to escape from his indentures, be arrested, incarcerated, his services lost to his employer, and his moral disposition ruined; and that, under these circumstances, contracts for even six or twelve months should be avoided.

The experience of the Committee enables them to say, that unless most inequitable and unfair agreements have been made with labourers, these consequences rarely or never occur in the first year of their indentures. They are generally found gratefully sensible of the advantages they have derived from the change during that period, and, if in health, do their work cheerfully. It is only subsequently, under long contracts of service, of which they despair of seeing the end, that the evil consequences described above have occurred. Exceptions there may be, and the parties, in such case, must be kept to their engagements. It surely cannot be meant that all restraints are to be removed from a negro labourer; and although it may be thought that we are not warranted in forcing upon him a good education against his consent, still we must consider ourselves culpable if we willingly allow him to receive a bad one; and certainly no education could be worse than to train him up in the idea, that, after voluntarily contracting what he knew and felt to be a beneficial engagement, and availing himself of its advantages, it could be considered hard or unjust to bind him to its performance by legal restraints, should he find or fancy another more desirable.

The Committee differ so entirely from this opinion, that they think such an opportunity should not be lost of teaching him, through the instrumentality of the law, a moral lesson of the first importance in civilized life—viz., to enter into all contracts cautiously, and then, whatever may

be the consequences, to keep them honestly. And, unless such principles are impressed upon the labouring population, how will it be possible to protect the sanctity of the marriage contract, which we are so anxious to promote and encourage among them? This is a matter worthy of serious consideration.

It was certainly not intended by Government to discourage contracts of service entered into within the colony; but the spirit of the legislation adopted with respect to foreign contracts has had that effect; and it could not be otherwise. It is apparent from the evidence, that not only the feelings of the labourers, but those of the public officers, have been biassed by the impression, that it is the wish of Government to keep the labourers unshackled by any restraints; and the consequence is, as before stated, that not an individual will now contract to labour, even for a single day. 670.

The Committee are of opinion, that this erroneous impression should be removed without delay; and they distinctly declare, that unless the free labour of the tropics can be made to partake of the advantages belonging to free labour in Great Britain; unless a superintendant of an estate there can secure a certain amount of labour for six months at least, as is uniformly the case in England, that it is hopeless to look for steady, skilful, continuous labour in the colony, and perfectly impossible to compete successfully against the combination, precision and strength which are derived from the discipline of slavery in Cuba and Brazil. They think, therefore, that the whole influence of Government should be directed to the encouragement of contracts of service; and the most advantageous mode in which it can now be exercised is by legalizing those made out of the colony. By these means the services of superior skilled labourers may be obtained from abroad, affording an example to the 612.

home population ; showing them that contracts are advantageous to the servant as well as to the master, and that they are not "slavery," as by a few designing persons, who in all the colonies have been trading and living upon the charitable feelings and sympathies of the nation, they have been taught to believe.


Already we have been obliged partially to retrace our steps, and legalize all colonial contracts made in Great Britain ; and the same motives and reasons which led to this change would seem to dictate the necessity of adopting the recommendation of the Committee.

In truth, it is to be feared that we have much to retrace and much to undo ; and unless we immediately renounce the idea that the negro requires no legal restraint and no training, to convert him into a civilized free labourer, the sooner we abandon the experiment the better ; for we can do no good in our present course, and by pursuing it, we may render ourselves, as we have already done in Trinidad, the authors and instruments of much mischief.

500. The evils resulting from these various causes, already described, had accumulated to such a height in the colony ; such was the idleness, vagrancy and inebriety of the labourers ; so exorbitant their demands for the work they chose to perform, which the planters were totally unable to resist, and so close and so visible the ruin impending over the latter, that the Immigration and Agricultural Society determined, early in the month of March, to address the Lieutenant-Governor, as the only efficient authority in the colony, and entreat him to devise some remedy for a state of affairs which, as deeply affecting the welfare and moral condition of the labouring class, it was expected would arrest the immediate attention of Government.

App. (A.) The Lieutenant-Governor, in his reply, admitted

the existence of the evils complained of, but alleged the difficulties attending their removal as an excuse for declining to attempt it, and referred the whole matter back again to the Society, with a declaration that the planters alone could find a remedy; unaccompanied, however, by the reasons on which this opinion was founded, or any explanation of the nature or form of the remedy he expected them to apply. The feelings of fear and discontent previously existing in the colony were in no respect diminished by this correspondence; and at a large public meeting, held on the 24th June (in consequence of the proposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to reduce the duty on foreign sugar), these feelings were loudly expressed. It was distinctly asserted, that the experiment of free labour would have met with complete success but for the absence of all systematic plan on the part of Government to effect it; that such was the fertility of the colony, that it could produce sugar at a cheaper rate than Cuba or Brazil; that a cultivation of only one-seventh part of the lands held by the Crown would produce more than sufficient for the consumption of Great Britain; and that nothing more was required for the accomplishment of this object, by which the differential duty on sugar would immediately become a dead letter, and the slave trade be extinguished, than the permission of Government to procure labour wherever it could be most advantageously obtained. These convictions were openly expressed at one of the largest meetings held in the colony, on a most exciting occasion, and were approved of without a dissentient voice; showing the deep and universal sense of the proprietors, that the present experiment can never be brought to a successful conclusion but by the introduction of an additional population, and the adoption of a wise and systematic plan for the government of the immigrant labourers.



638. In looking to the source from whence an additional population is to be derived, the Committee are of opinion that no European race will suit as a labouring class in the colony. Their health might be preserved in the hilly districts, but no reasonable restrictions could retain them there against their inclination. It is to latitudes within forty degrees of the equator that they look for labourers, to whom the climate of the island would be as genial as their own. Asiatics would answer well, but the natives of Africa are greatly to be preferred, for many reasons : they are naturally docile, and open to new impressions ; even their ignorance is in their favour, for they have no bad code of policy, morality or religion to unlearn. The evidence, indeed, speaks

160. of a Mahomedan mosque established amongst them, but that religion is confined to a tribe partially civilized by the Moors ; and it is clear, from the statement given, that it principally arises from the

449. absence of any other church in that district, and a natural yearning after some religion. Hitherto the efforts of the inhabitants of Trinidad to procure labourers have, with one exception, been limited by Government to the British colonies,—a restriction hostile to the principle which dictated the abolition of slavery, and, in its consequences, extremely injurious to the neighbouring islands. The Committee do not mean to infer that they think those islands can materially suffer, under ordinary circumstances, from any amount of voluntary emigration ; for probably nothing but positive misgovernment can depopulate a country in which the inhabitants have once fairly taken root. But it is the continual excitement and agitation which the temptation to remove to Trinidad inspires that most injuriously affects them. The fears and irritation of the employer on one side, and the vague and frequently exaggerated expectations of the labourer on the other, are utterly destructive of the formation

of amicable relations between them, and of the repose which the working of this great experiment peculiarly requires. The extinction of slavery was in itself an event sufficiently exciting, and in its consequences too little understood by all the parties affected by it, not to have rendered it, above all things, expedient to avoid the occurrence of any additional stimulant by which their fears or their fancies could be increased. Of all the problems connected with this measure, not one was more difficult to solve than the mode by which wages for labour were suddenly to be fixed on a fair and satisfactory basis between parties, who had not before been in the habit of making bargains of that description; who, besides, entertained the deepest distrust of each other's motives and intentions; and it was peculiarly desirable to avoid, at such a moment, the introduction of any additional ingredient of discord. The difficulty of initiating such an arrangement must be obvious, even if the state of the labour market had been the same throughout the colonies. This unfortunately was far from being the case, for the legislative measures recommended by the anti-slavery party in 1825 had added greatly to the complication of the question, by prohibiting the removal of slaves, even with their own consent, from one British colony to another, rendering labour in some places superabundant, and creating a dearth of it in others. So powerful an impediment did these laws present to its finding its natural level, that even now, after a considerable transfer of population has taken place, wages are at sixpence sterling a day in Tortola, and sixpence an hour in Trinidad. In consequence of these extraordinary inequalities in the state of the labour market, an indraught is now apparent towards Trinidad from every colony and country around where free labour exists. The movement is even to be discerned in the heart of Venezuela, on, the continent

420. of South America, and is everywhere found unfavourable to settled habits and moral improvement.

These evils are undeniable ; but it may be alleged that it was impossible to avoid them, except, by an outrage on every free principle, in preventing a British subject from carrying his labour to the best market ; but would this have been a greater outrage, on the same principles, than the preventing a British subject from obtaining labour in the best market ? —a prohibition which has been enforced since the extinction of slavery, up to the present day.

Is it not evident that most of our difficulties arise from the inconsistency of our proceedings, and that an easy remedy for them in the present instance would be found in the fair application of the whole principle, permitting the negro in the disposal of his labour, and the planter in obtaining it, both to resort to the best market ? The difficulties and evils just described would then vanish, and wages throughout the colonies would gradually and gently approximate to a level, without disturbing the harmony of society, or unsettling the minds and feelings of the labouring population.

The Committee, trusting that this equitable rule will be no longer opposed, and that a British subject will be allowed to obtain in a fair and honourable way the labour he may require, wherever it can be found, are so convinced of the superiority of the source which Africa presents, that they recommend its being made available, even at a considerable expense, the whole of which, however, would be defrayed by the colony. It is possible that on that extensive continent a sufficient number of suitable free labourers may be engaged, by which all difficulties will be surmounted. But it may be otherwise, and instead of waiting until the period of failure arrives, the more prudent course will be to

App. (K.)



prepare and determine beforehand the measures which in such case should be pursued. The Committee, therefore, after seriously considering the whole subject, both in its causes and consequences, presume to advise, that if a sufficient number of free labourers are not to be found on the coast of Africa disposed to emigrate to our colonies, that some of the unhappy persons who are held there in bondage should be purchased and manumitted for that purpose; sincerely believing that such a measure will immediately assure a successful issue to the experiment of free labour, and effect in a short period of time the extinction of the slave trade.

In offering this advice, the Committee have not lost sight of the position which they occupy: residents in a colony, hitherto but little known, and less appreciated, they have ventured out of their humble sphere to offer an opinion upon a great national question, and they plead as their excuse the critical and embarrassing situation in which that question is at present placed.

After one of the greatest moral efforts ever made, — after spending millions of money and years of diplomacy for the purpose of putting down slavery and the slave trade, — the people of England find that they have failed. The leaders in whom they placed unbounded confidence, whose advice they implicitly followed, and whose measures they cordially and enthusiastically supported, not only admit the failure, but recommend a total abandonment, of the measures hitherto pursued, and the adoption of an entire new course of proceeding.

Without detracting from the merit, or questioning the ultimate efficiency, of the Niger scheme for christianizing and civilizing Africa, it must be admitted that no one can view it as calculated to meet the present emergency, or speedily accomplish the extinction of the slave trade. We must adopt for that purpose something decisive and

effective. True and holy as the principle is which condemns the slave trade, it cannot without injury sustain another failure as signal as the last; and should such occur, the attempt will be given up for the present in despair; and, after an enormous sacrifice of money, colonies and reputation, we shall leave only the seeds of another moral contest, to be renewed by a future generation.

Neither will the Committee plead ignorance of the strong prejudice which exists against even the discussion of the plan proposed; they neither underrate its power, nor are they disposed to treat it but with the sincerest respect, believing it to be based on deep religious feeling, and a warm anxiety for the welfare of the African race. At the same time they claim to be allowed a share in the promotion of the latter object, to which they would be unworthy to pretend, if they could be induced by any personal considerations to shrink from the consequences of initiating a measure which they believe to be the best calculated to promote its eventual success. They ask only a calm and fair examination of their proposal, convinced that, if received and considered in that spirit, the result must be useful to the cause in which all take so great an interest. And if, after deliberate examination, it should promise no better success than our efforts for the last thirty years have unfortunately attained, they are prepared immediately to renounce it, and search in another direction for a happier solution of so difficult a problem.

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*The question now to be considered is, whether the plan proposed of liberating African slaves, and conveying them to a British colony, there to enjoy freedom and the benefits of civilization, is calculated in its effects immediately to diminish, and at no distant period entirely to extinguish, the slave trade; and if*

*so, whether any single step in the proceedings required to accomplish it appears so objectionable as to induce a wise and humane legislator to decline its adoption.*

It seems almost unnecessary to state, that the parties manumitted for the purpose of being conveyed to our colonies would only be removed with their own free will and consent ; for it is impossible to doubt of their joyful acceptance of the boon offered. They may not be fully acquainted with all the details of the wretched fate which otherwise awaits them ; but it is evident from the precautions taken by the slavers to secure them in chains, previous to embarkation, that they know their future lot will be cast in suffering and misery ; and what they do not know they can be easily instructed in by some of their liberated comrades, who may be employed for that purpose. There can be no doubt, therefore, of their gratefully accepting the alternative proposed, particularly as it will confer the immediate happiness of being united to every member of their families who can be collected around them. As it is not intended to appeal to the passions, no attempt will be here made to describe the horrors of the middle passage, or the mortality which accompanies it, nor the subsequent trials on landing, when disease and despondency will so fearfully reduce their remaining numbers during the first year of their bondage. It is sufficient to say, that from all these cruel inflictions, and probably to none more awfully severe can human nature be subjected, they will be saved by emigration to our colonies. Thus far the course pursued will have been one of mercy and charity, of horrors averted and happiness conferred, without one single particle of alloy in the proceeding.

The objections to this course will be found in a despatch from Lord Normanby to Governor Light, of Demerara : “ No precaution which has been or

“ could be devised could prevent such a measure  
 “ from giving a stimulus to the internal slave trade  
 “ on that continent, or from bringing discredit on the  
 “ sincerity of the efforts made by the nation for the  
 “ suppression of that system of guilt and misery.”  
 It is believed that the above paragraph contains the whole sum of reasonable objections which can be raised against the plan proposed ; but after considering, with all the deference it deserves, a statement emanating from such high authority, the Committee think they shall be able to show that no such evils as his Lordship anticipated can possibly ensue. If the particular grounds of his Lordship’s opinion had been given in the despatch, the attention of the Committee would have been limited to their consideration ; as they were not, they must reason on the general view of the case.

It appears to the Committee that the sole stimulus which can be applied to the slave trade is the profit it affords ; its continuance must not be ascribed, as it erroneously is, to the guilt of individuals, but to the fixed laws which regulate capital, and determine it always to seek the most profitable employment. If this be admitted (and we think it scarcely can be denied), it will be obvious, that *if we can diminish the profits of the slave trade, it will be reduced, and when we can destroy them, it will be extinguished.*

To this conviction, after years of unavailing efforts, under a different impression, Sir F. T. Buxton at last arrived ; and it is to be lamented that he should have apparently retired from the field at a period when his discovery of the cause of former failures affords a better prospect of future success.

The Committee, in submitting their plan, feel assured that it will, from the first, diminish, and ultimately annihilate, the profits on which the slave trade depends ; and they admit that nothing but a

deep conviction of the certainty of this result could have furnished them with a justifiable excuse for pressing it upon the attention of the public.

It is well understood that the profits of every trade depend, under ordinary circumstances and in the long run, on the proportion of the supply to the demand ; by an inadequate supply, the price rises ; with a superabundant supply, it falls. Now, no one can suppose that if we enter into competition with the planters of Brazil and Cuba, and take a portion of the labourers annually exported from Africa for the purpose of raising sugar in our colonies, that the supply of the latter article can be thereby diminished (from which result alone could profits on the sugar trade be increased, and an additional stimulus thereby given to the internal slave trade). The worst that could happen from our interference might be to keep the profits and the stimulus on the same scale as before, and this undoubtedly would be the case if our agricultural proceedings were not to be more economical than those of the slave-owner ; but as it is known by experience that if a hundred labourers be conveyed as freemen from Africa to Trinidad, the same number will be generally found twelve months afterwards in health and strength ; whilst if an equal number be transported to the Brazils and Cuba, more than one-half will be lost in the first year (from mortality in the middle passage and the subsequent seasoning on shore) ; and as every African landed in Trinidad would cost the colony only sixty dollars instead of three hundred and fifty, the lowest price at which the slaver can afford to sell, it follows, as an undeniable consequence, that we should not only make double the quantity of sugar which they can, with the same number of exported labourers, but effect it at a greatly reduced expense. We could therefore furnish a more abundant supply to the sugar market, at a cheaper rate, which would lower

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the profit of the slave-owner, and consequently diminish the stimulus to the internal slave trade.

The Committee are aware that many humane persons feel so deeply on this subject as to allow their judgment to be clouded by their apprehensions, and cannot discard from their minds the idea that the foreign slave-owners will still continue (in spite of our successful competition in the sugar market) to purchase the same numbers of victims in Africa as before, by which no doubt the stimulus to the slave trade, as Lord Normanby supposes, would be increased. The Committee are of opinion that this could not possibly occur ; for even if the inclination to purchase should continue, it will speedily be repressed by the refusal of the capitalist to supply the means. He does not speculate in Brazilian shares for the mere pleasure of incarcerating negroes in the bowels of the earth, but for the sake of the profits to be extracted from the mines. Neither will he lend to the slave-owner when the profits of the latter are declining and apparently about to cease. The planters of Cuba and Brazil will therefore be unable to purchase slaves to the same extent as before, and must necessarily diminish their cultivation in proportion as ours advances. Historical facts can fortunately be referred to in illustration of the correctness of this assertion. In the indigo trade, when free labour in the east began to exhibit more profitable results than slave labour in the west, the latter declined, and became gradually extinct. The slave-owner did not continue to force it on and grow indigo as before, but gradually gave up the contest, and withdrew his labouring force into the sugar cultivation, which is his last stronghold, from whence, if he can be beaten by the competition of free labour, there will be no retreat for him save in emancipation.

It is far from being denied—on the contrary, it is expected—that the first effects of our competition

will be a reduction in the price of sugar, a corresponding increase in the demand, and of course an extension of the cultivation ; and this result is hailed as an additional assurance of the early triumph of free labour ; for from what source will the increased demand be supplied—from our new and economical free system, or the old and expensive process of slavery ? If any doubts can be entertained on this subject, the experience afforded by our cotton manufacture will easily remove them. When the power-loom was first introduced, the immediate effect of its superiority was to reduce the price of cotton cloths and increase their consumption ; but the consequent demand never encouraged the absurd attempt to establish more hand-loom ; the whole of the increase was furnished by power-loom alone. The cases are parallel ; and it is evident that by an extension of *free labour cultivation* alone will the augmented demand for sugar be supplied. This will of course throw the command of emigration from Africa by degrees into our hands, and we can then so regulate it as gradually to reduce the demand, by which the internal trade is alone supported, until the natural increase of population in our West Indian colonies (which a very short time will effect) shall have rendered a further supply of free labour from Africa unnecessary. *When that period arrives, the slave trade and slavery are extinct.* App. (L.)

This question has hitherto been treated as one of political economy only, as if the persons to whom it relates possessed no higher interest in our thoughts than the objects of commerce produced by their labour ; but it is evident, in the state of public feeling which at present prevails throughout the Christian world, both in Europe and America, that the subjects of slavery and the slave trade can no longer be so dealt with, even by those who now resist their abolition. A moral apprehension is at all times hanging over their supporters, whose path is beset

with difficulties and dangers, which are hideously magnified in the perspective of futurity. The great majority, therefore, of those who now tolerate slavery have no predilections in its favour ; on the contrary, they would renounce it to-morrow, as something to be loathed and detested, if they could only be assured of the profitable cultivation of their estates by a less objectionable expedient, and feel their minds relieved from the torturing fear of involving all who are nearest and dearest to their affections in poverty and misery. The decline of slavery, therefore, will not be gradual, as the argument has assumed ; it must be sudden and abrupt. The moment the superiority of a better system is clearly and undeniably established, our opponents will come over to us *en masse*, and its extinction will be decreed by acclamation. If, therefore, the solution of this question as given by the Committee cannot be disproved, we render ourselves deeply responsible for any unnecessary delay in carrying the plan proposed into immediate execution.

In the mode of proceeding recommended by the Committee, our intercourse with the leading chiefs and influential natives of Africa will be one of perfect peace and amity ; we shall offend none of their prejudices and injure none of their interests. MAN, as Sir F. T. Buxton admits, has ever been the great staple article of export from Africa, by which chiefly the inhabitants acquire in exchange the luxuries of civilized life, to which they have now become partially accustomed. This trade they have carried on for ages without entertaining a doubt in respect to its propriety ; and can that circumstance surprise us when we recollect how short a period has elapsed since we, in all the pride of superior civilization, knew no better ? Instead of stopping it by violence and force of arms, we shall in the mode proposed deal with them fairly and justly, according to their notions ; and under favour of the improved feeling



towards us, which such a course must produce, our missionaries may ascend the Niger, and hope to inhabit the interior with safety. They may then expect to meet with friends instead of enemies, and willing converts everywhere.

Under the plan proposed, it is of course understood that our cruising squadron would be withdrawn from the coast of Africa, where, with the exception of our own settlements, we have apparently as little right to exercise a maritime jurisdiction as on the shores of the Chesapeake, where a traffic in slaves is regularly carried on. All the right of interference which we can justly lay claim to we derive from our treaties with particular powers, and any naval police we may in consequence think necessary will be more efficaciously and legitimately employed on their coasts. We shall thus avoid all risk of collision or misunderstanding with other governments who have refused to become parties to similar treaties.

Throughout the whole of the foregoing argument it has been assumed as indisputable, that the labour of a free man, under a proper system of regulations, is, even in the tropics, more economical than the labour of a slave; the Committee apprehending that any studied effort to prove it would carry with it an air of disrespect to the tribunal they address; for if it be supposed that this superiority can be now denied, we must then admit that our whole movement from the beginning is false, and the extinction of slavery impossible.

It cannot, however, be surprising if many, after perusing these observations and the statements contained in the evidence, should begin to entertain doubts of ultimate success. To them it will be consolatory to hear that the failure hitherto can be ascribed to no want of efficacy in the principle of free labour, but solely to a want of judgment in the mode in which it has been applied to

the population of tropical countries. The Committee entertain not the slightest doubt of its perfect success in the Island of Trinidad, if two measures only are adopted :

App. (H.) 1st. The introduction of a sufficient number of labourers of both sexes, by which the enormous excess prevailing in the colony of fixed capital and uncultivated land over population may be corrected, and these three material elements (on which, when combined in due proportion, civilization and prosperity depend) be adjusted to the proper scale, such as exists in Great Britain and other countries, where free labour is found to work profitably.

App. (I.) 2d. The framing of a legislative code, embracing *provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes*, by which they may be trained and educated as moral and useful members of society in the station of life to which they belong.

The necessity of a proper systematic code for the regulation of the emancipated negroes is no new idea or claim on the part of the Trinidad Committee ; it was promised to the colonies in the first of the resolutions passed by both Houses of Parliament in 1833, on which the Bill for the abolition of slavery was founded, as follows :

“ That it is the opinion of this Committee that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the colonies, *under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes* as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors.”

It can never be disadvantageous to recall not only individuals but communities to a recollection of their engagements : possibly few of those who were parties to the above resolution have since reperused it, or taken any pains to ascertain whether the promise it contains has been fulfilled.

They are now entreated to read it over again seri-

ously and attentively, and then to look at the state and condition of Trinidad, as exhibited in the following pages, and say whether this solemn pledge has been redeemed with respect to that colony.

Where are the proofs of the protection promised to the interests of proprietors? They are not exhibited in any part of the evidence, where the planters unanimously complain that their expenses exceed the value of their crops, nor in the fourth resolution of the Committee, describing the system pursued as destructive of the profits of capital.

In what page are the proofs to be found of the welfare of the negroes having been secured? Certainly they are not apparent in the declaration of the Bishop of Agna, that unless a check is provided, they will be so demoralized and enfeebled before ten years elapse, that they will be unable to work for their own subsistence.

What excuse can now be made for this lamentable failure? Either the provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes, promised to the colonies by the first resolution of the Imperial Parliament, have been totally neglected, as alleged by the proprietors of Trinidad, or they have been so badly and inefficiently framed, as to have been not only useless, but positively mischievous. From this dilemma it is impossible for those who have had the management of affairs in that colony to escape; for a full discretionary power of doing in it exactly as they pleased has been lodged in their hands, without the slightest restriction, from the commencement of the experiment until the present period.

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These observations cannot be closed without calling the attention of the nation and Government to the splendid field of tropical colonization which the plan of the Committee opens to our enterprise.

We possess in our West Indian dependencies a field of inappreciable wealth, which can be rendered productive to any extent in which capital and population are applied to its cultivation. Those colonies are destined by nature, from their position and extraordinary fertility, to supply the rapidly-increasing marts of Europe and North America with tropical produce, and to become the seat of a dense population. Slavery alone has hitherto prevented the development of these brilliant results. We have now shaken off that incubus, and our moral and physical energies are unfettered. In the scientific application of steam to mechanics and navigation, and in the simple but comprehensive principles promulgated by Mr. Wakefield, we possess two powerful auxiliaries (as yet almost exclusively our own), enabling us to carry our plans on a gigantic scale into rapid and successful execution.

It is for us now to determine whether we shall make this splendid field our own, or, by an inconceivable infatuation, such as induced us to steep ourselves deep in the dye of slavery for the ultimate gain of others, now to lay open a new and unobjectionable course, leading to unlimited profit, for the sole advantage of rival nations, ever watchful and eager to benefit by our mistakes—and for what? for a feeling—a sentiment—a something which can neither be clearly understood nor explained.

Our colonies of Trinidad and Guiana alone would supply the world with sugar, estimating its present consumption at the highest rate; but abandoning all vague and unnecessary speculations, it is easily reducible to calculation that one-sixth part only of the cultivatable surface of Trinidad would more than supply the actual demand of Great Britain for that article, and furnish it within a short period of time.

It has been hitherto impossible to ascertain the

extreme fertility of that island from the want of labour to develop it, for shortly after its cession to us by Spain at the peace of Amiens, the suppression of the slave trade prevented the introduction of an additional population.

Without altogether relying upon the opinions given on this subject in the evidence, which may be deemed partial, we can adduce historical proof of the high estimation in which its fertility was held by competent and disinterested judges. When the insurrection in St. Domingo drove the French planters out of that island, every motive of prudence and gratitude induced them to seek refuge preferentially under the British flag, where a powerful arm kept down the revolutionary spirit of which they had been the victims. The coffee growers immediately removed to Jamaica and other British islands; but the sugar planters perceived that it was only in the colonies of Spain they would find unoccupied soil sufficiently fertile for their purpose. They had before them for selection, Cuba, Porto Rico and Trinidad; the last considerably to windward of St. Domingo, and not to be reached from thence in less than three or four weeks, and then only in fast-sailing, sharp-built vessels, little adapted to the conveyance of a large establishment of family and slaves, encumbered with all the household goods they could save from the wreck of their fortunes. Porto Rico was close to them on the east, and Cuba on the west, and the latter within a few hours' sail only. Notwithstanding the time, trouble and expense necessary to reach it, the most influential families amongst them selected Trinidad in preference; and to these distinguished refugees that colony is indebted for the introduction of its sugar cultivation. In looking at its peculiar fitness for a great sugar-producing colony, it presents one most striking and valuable feature in its perfect adaptation

App. (N.) to the formation of railroads, which will soon be considered an essential auxiliary, not only in the profitable cultivation of that article, but in the rapid improvement and advancement of every colony possessed of a fertile soil. Every step, consequently, in the plan proposed will be productive of profitable employment for our superabundant capital, which has hitherto, in quest of it, been driven into foreign loans, there to be sunk and lost, or into the still more objectionable channels of the slave trade.

We can now be the means of conferring happiness on thousands by an act highly beneficial to ourselves, as all who are conveyed to our colonies will be rescued from a miserable fate, and immediately repay every expense attending their removal. From the first hour of their arrival they will become valuable in a twofold capacity, as producers and consumers, and that to an extent with which no foreign trade can bear the slightest comparison, as the statistics of our West Indian colonies, even in their present depressed state, amply attest.

In fine, it is clear and convincing to those who have seriously considered the subject, that half the pains and trouble which England now takes in courting and begging reluctant nations to deal with her, would, if applied to colonization, give her a trade of her own with the four corners of the earth. We possess ample and fertile territories in every clime, population and capital in abundance, with new and extraordinary powers for bringing and combining them prosperously together; and if we are forced by the jealous exclusion of rivals, can easily render ourselves independent of foreign commerce by a plain and simple proceeding, the cost of which, at every step, would be advantageously repaid. Under such a system, perseveringly and extensively carried into operation, our manufactories would soon be in full and constant employment,

our wharves and docks crowded with merchandize, and our ships would cover the ocean with freights. Protected by our own regulations, trade would then be steady and safe ; and being relieved from our present absolute dependence upon foreign intercourse, we should no longer suffer by a participation in the losses of every nation, which, by speculative errors, may involve itself in commercial and financial distress.





## R E P O R T

OF THE

## S U B - C O M M I T T E E .

THE Sub-Committee appointed on the 11th day of February last, to "inquire and report respecting the state of the agricultural interests of the colony since the abolition of apprenticeship in August 1838, their present condition and future prospects, and to recommend such measures as they may think conducive to the general prosperity," have the honour to state, that in consequence of the immediate departure of the chairman from the colony, they have found it impossible to complete a detailed report on the evidence taken before them, and have deemed it advisable to embody the conclusions to which they have come in the following Resolutions, a copy of which, together with the Evidence, they now lay before the society:—

1st—That by the evidence taken, it appears that at the period of the extinction of apprenticeship in 1838, there were in the Island of Trinidad—

184 sugar estates.

39,328 inhabitants.

43,265 acres of land in cultivation.

208,379 acres belonging to private individuals.

1,079,301 acres belonging to the Crown.

2d—That the whole capital invested in sugar estates may be strictly designated "manufacturing capital;" that the value of the 184 sugar estates in this colony exceeds at a low estimate two millions sterling, which gives above £.50 sterling per head for every inhabitant; constituting an

excessive proportion of fixed manufacturing capital, with reference to population, of which even the mother country, possessing the most extensive and costly manufactories in Europe, affords no precedent, and which, if not corrected, must prove ultimately ruinous to the interests of proprietors in this island.

3d—That this injurious disproportion is daily increasing, in consequence of the superabundance of land held by private individuals, of which very little more than one-fifth is or can, with our present population, be brought into profitable cultivation. The remaining four-fifths are consequently of no benefit to the present owners, who are selling them off in small lots, by which the number of labourers previously employed in the manufacture of sugar, and found to be insufficient, is rapidly decreasing; and this evil is further aggravated by the great extent of Crown lands in the colony not being effectually protected against the intrusion of unauthorized settlers.

4th—That out of this deficiency of population, as compared to the extent of granted land and fixed capital, arise the following alarming evils, which are clearly and distinctly proved in the evidence. All proprietors or agents in charge of capital in this island are now dependent upon the will of the labourers to a degree unparalleled, it is believed, in any part of the world, at any period of time; for although similar disproportions between land and population may have existed, such a disproportion between population and land in connexion with capital has not hitherto been possible, being solely the artificial result of British legislation, which first chained the labourers to the soil, whereby fixed capital was disproportionately extended, and then suddenly set them free. This dependence upon the will of the labourers has given to them the exclusive power of fixing the terms of all contracts of service and rates of wages, which not only tends to the destruction of the profits of capital, but has directly led to such demoralizing results amongst the labourers themselves, as threaten entirely to supersede every benefit expected from the boon of emancipation.

5th—That these evils, resulting solely from a deficient population, can only be corrected by one of the two following processes:—firstly, by the destruction of a portion of our present fixed capital, with accession to the Crown of all uncultivated lands, so that both land and

capital may be brought to bear a reasonable proportion to the actual population; or, secondly, by the introduction of a sufficient number of labourers to adjust correctly these three elements of civilization, in the proportions which are found naturally to exist in all prosperous free communities.

6th—That the remedy which would be afforded by the introduction of a population from *foreign* sources is, in the opinion of this Committee, the only one to be recommended; being productive of no loss or sacrifice of capital, and easily effected by simply abandoning some of the restrictions now imposed on immigration, which are not only at variance with free principles, but by forcing almost exclusively our urgent demands for labour upon the British colonies around us, tend to impede *their* efforts to preserve their own fixed capital from loss, and directly prevent their emancipated population from settling down steadily and contentedly in their native homes.

7th—That a permission granted to the colonists of Trinidad to engage labourers in Africa (to whom the change in every social and moral point of view would be highly beneficial) would remedy every existing evil, and be easily effected without the slightest pecuniary cost to the mother country, by the establishment only of a land and emigration fund in this colony, from the proceeds of which every necessary expense could be easily defrayed.

8th—That this mode of proceeding, whilst it holds out a rational prospect of extinguishing the present traffic in slaves by the successful efforts of free labour, will assist rather than interfere with any other plan now under consideration by Her Majesty's Government for the same object. It will involve us in no angry collision with the natives of Africa, whose wretched habits, the growth of ages, may be gradually effaced by gentle persuasion, but can never be eradicated by force. Whenever British power and authority presents itself to them clothed only in the missionary garb of peace, holding the Bible in one hand, and a manumission fund in the other, we may reasonably hope for success. In this mode alone can the tracts of fertile soil, so lavishly spread by Almighty Providence over the surface of this island, be brought into cultivation and made available for human use, which otherwise must remain, as hitherto, lifeless and barren wastes; but so *employed* will be converted into a mine of wealth, creating

immediately an extensive field for British enterprise and British capital, furnishing an ample fund for the redemption of Africans from bondage, and holding out the cheering expectation of extinguishing for ever the cause which alone creates and supports the present execrable traffic in slaves.

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The foregoing Resolutions having been read, and unani-  
mously adopted, it was then moved by the Honourable  
HENRY MURRAY, and seconded by Mr. DENNISTOUN—

That the Honourable W. H. BURNLEY be requested and authorized by the Committee to lay these Resolutions, and the Evidence on which they are founded, before Her Majesty's Government, and to make such representations upon the matters elicited by the inquiries of the Sub-Committee as he may deem to be best calculated to further the ends for which the Sub-Committee was appointed, and generally to promote the interests of the colony.

# MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE

OF THE

AGRICULTURAL AND IMMIGRATION SOCIETY.

MONDAY, 22d MARCH, 1841.

*Union Hall Estate, South Naparima.*

The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

*St. Luce Philip, Esq., called in, and examined.*

1. HAVE you been long resident in Trinidad?—I was born in the colony, but educated in Europe, where I have passed, at two different periods, fourteen years.

2. What is your profession, and how do you employ yourself in the colony?—I am a doctor of medicine, but practise only among my friends, and chiefly employ myself as a sugar planter, being part proprietor, with my family, of three sugar estates.

3. You are then well acquainted with the state of affairs in this colony, social and agricultural?—Yes, generally; but in all matters of agricultural detail, my manager, Frederic Maxwell, who was originally a slave, but liberated by our family for his good conduct, and subsequently promoted to his present situation, can give the Committee better information than myself.

4. Are the expenses attending the cultivation of a sugar estate greater now than previous to emancipation?—Much greater, and have been continually and regularly increasing to the present period.

5. Has not your revenue increased in proportion in consequence of the great rise in sugar—in 1840, for instance, as compared to 1838 and 1839?—By no means; it was decidedly less in 1840, from the greater increase of expenses and rise in wages.

6. Do you consider, then, that a further rise in the sugar market would only raise the price of wages, and be of little benefit to the planter?—Decidedly so, unless a larger population of labourers were introduced.

7. Has there not been a considerable immigration of labourers since emancipation?—Yes, and to an extent which I believe many are not aware of; for a number of labourers arrive from other colo-

nics direct to San Fernando,\* whose passages are not paid by the colonial government, but by the planters receiving them; and I have myself expended in this way 300 to 400 dollars.

8. What proportion of immigrants have you working upon your estates?—Above one-half.

9. Is the number of labourers upon your estate doubled, then, since the abolition of apprenticeship?—Not quite, as some of my apprentices have settled in town, or on lands of their own, and some have gone to other estates.

10. As you state the number of labourers upon your estate to be nearly doubled, the Committee wish to know whether your crops have increased in the same proportion?—Certainly not upon my estates; and generally, I believe, there has been a great decrease throughout the district. Many cane-pieces are now overgrown with brushwood, which were previously in cultivation.

11. To what do you ascribe this circumstance?—To the irregular work of the labourers, who, upon an average, work only three or four days in the week, in consequence of the high wages they receive.

12. Possibly they find it more advantageous to employ their time in raising poultry, pigs and vegetables?—Some few may, but in general it is not the case, for all those articles are now scarcer and dearer than I ever recollect at any former period.

13. Do you charge any rent to the labourers on your estate for their houses and grounds?—None at all.

14. Do those, then, who work only occasionally, enjoy in this respect the same advantages as those whose labour is regular and continuous?—Exactly the same.

15. What is your motive for continuing a practice apparently so unjust?—It is the universal practice, and I cannot attempt a change, until my neighbours are determined to do the same.

16. Are you not one of the road commissioners in this quarter?—Not in this, but in the quarter of North Naparima.

17. Has there been greater difficulty in repairing the public roads since emancipation?—Infinitely greater. Until the arrival of the Americans, we could find no parties willing to contract for the repairs, and they charge a most extravagant rate for all they do.

18. What prevented other parties, then, from entering into these profitable contracts?—I cannot exactly say, but it is the fact. Probably it was considered too dangerous, as no man can depend always upon getting labourers, or retaining them, at a reasonable price, whilst the Americans depend upon each other, and do the work in partnership.

19. Have you had any opportunities of judging of the health of the immigrants since their arrival in the colony?—Yes, generally.

20. Have any of them suffered materially from sickness or mortality?—None; even among the Americans, who I consider more liable, as coming from a northern climate, there have been very few deaths, only occasional sickness, and they will soon be accustomed to the climate.

21. Do you know any thing of the health of the liberated Africans who arrived in the island five years ago?—I received eighteen of them upon my estate, who were landed in a very emaciated condition; but

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\* San Fernando, the principal town in North and South Naparimas.

all, with the exception of one woman who died of consumption, soon recovered, and are now in the most perfect health.

22. Have you never heard, then, of cases among them of *ma d'estomac* and dirt-eating, which occurred so frequently and fatally among Africans, previous to the abolition of the slave trade?—Never; I believe those diseases to have been intimately connected with mental despondency, to which freemen will rarely if ever be liable.

23. Are the labourers generally quiet and orderly throughout the district?—Generally so; I mean when they are quite sober.

24. Are there many offences against property?—There are many in the stealing of canes and provisions, but few of a serious nature.

25. In the event of a fall in the rate of wages, is it not to be apprehended that there will be some risk of robbery to a greater extent; in which case, how far do you consider the existing police of the quarter adequate to repress offenders and keep the peace?—There would be certainly much greater risk, as, in fact, there is no resident magistrate or police in the quarter; and I should be under great alarm as to the consequences, if the labouring classes were not as well off as they are at present.

Mr. *Frederic Maxwell* called in, and examined.

26. WHAT is your occupation and employment?—I am manager of the Philippine estate, in South Naparima, which I have conducted for seven years. At five years of age I was brought by Mr. Philip from the Island of Grenada, and worked upon the Concord estate, belonging to the family, until I was liberated.

27. Do you consider the condition of the labouring class to be much improved since emancipation?—They are, certainly, much better pleased with their present condition than they were formerly.

28. What wages do you pay at present?—Sixty cents per day, generally (2s. 6d. stg.), to the people working about the mill and boiling house; the same to the cart-men, with one cooked meal, two or three glasses of rum, and half a pound of dried cod-fish.

29. At what hours do you commence and end work?—The engine mill is put about at five in the morning, at eleven or twelve we stop for one hour, and generally finish at half-past five.

30. How many days do you work in the week?—In general, six days.

31. Do the labourers, then, work steadily six days in the week?—O, no! not more than three or four, generally; some work on one day, some on another.

32. How much do you pay for weeding canes?—Fifty cents (2s. 2d. stg.) for a square of sixty feet when the canes are foul, but seventy or eighty feet when in better order, with half a pound of fish and one glass of rum.

33. From your own practical experience, can you say whether two of these tasks can be done in a day by an ordinary well-disposed labourer, without fatiguing himself?—Two can easily be done from six in the morning by eleven o'clock. I have two women on the estate who do three tasks per day with ease.

34. Do many of them perform two tasks per day?—Very few; many do only three or four in the week, and some not more than one.

35. What is the cause of their doing so little work, as it appears

to be so easily performed?—They are idle and lazy, prefer living upon their more industrious friends, and the canes of the estate.

36. Do you lose much from the plunder of canes?—A great deal, without our being able to prevent it; when we detect them we sometimes stop their wages, but this frequently occasions them to leave the estate and work elsewhere; but we cannot afford to lose the time necessary for carrying them before the magistrate.

37. How much can a labourer save per week who works industriously?—He can easily save six or seven dollars per week, if he will work steadily. The two women of whom I spoke save as much.

38. Can this be done at all seasons of the year?—By field work, at any time—probably easier out of crop than in.

39. What do the women of whom you spoke intend to do with their money?—I believe they intend to buy a small piece of land; but the greater number squander what they make in drinking, gambling, and dissipation.

40. Do you consider them to be improving, or getting worse, in these respects?—Decidedly getting worse, as wages increase. The other day, in consequence of the drunkenness of one of my firemen, I was obliged to make fire for two hours myself.

41. Would it be possible to persuade any of the labourers to sign an agreement to work six days in succession, steadily, upon an estate?—I should not dare to attempt it. My only security now for working throughout the week is, that if one man will not work, another will; and we have double the number upon the estate necessary to do the work performed.

42. Comparing the work of the natives and the different classes of immigrants together, which do you prefer?—That of the natives, decidedly; they understand it better.

42.\* Have you tried the liberated Africans?—We have three on the estate; they work extremely well. One of the women I mentioned is an African; she is my god-daughter, and I have now 100 dollars belonging to her in my hands.

43. Would you be pleased to see a greater number of these Africans arrive?—I should prefer them much to the labourers from the old islands, as I think they are disposed to settle down more steadily.

44. Would you not apprehend that from want of education they might be turbulent, commit breaches of the peace and acts of violence?—Not if distributed generally amongst the natives, and not allowed to settle too much by themselves, particularly if they brought their wives with them.

45. Do you think that if any great number of immigrants were to arrive, we could find employment for them all?—If they were to arrive in thousands we could employ them. At Philippine, where we have eighty or ninety resident labourers now, we could employ 300 more to-morrow.

46. In what way would you employ them?—I cannot at this moment weed any plant canes, or haul the trash from the ratoons, for want of hands, and they are suffering much in consequence. My present stock of canes would yield one-third more sugar if properly cultivated. I would then put in more cane-pieces, as our engine is quite powerful enough for a much larger crop.

47. What is the size of the estate?—One hundred and forty quarrées, of which only 100 are in cultivation. (*Three acres and one-fifth to a quarrée.*)



48. Do you find that the raising of provisions and small stock has increased since emancipation?—It has fallen off much; they are so scarce now as hardly to be procured.

49. By whom were they raised before, and why do they not continue the practice?—They were raised by the slaves and apprentices; but they get now such high wages, that they are careless, and many who might be disposed to do so find that they lose by plunder and depredation.

50. Cannot you protect provision grounds from plunder?—You cannot find watchmen to protect them at any price; they do not like to remain apart from the others, and very probably would steal themselves.

51. What do you consider to be the cause of labourers removing so frequently from one estate to another?—They do not like their work to be closely looked after, and remove to another estate, where they think they will be allowed to do it more quickly and superficially.

52. Have you much trouble, then, in looking after the work of the labourers?—A great deal; the work is infinitely worse than it was in time of slavery.

53. If wages were to fall one-half, do you think that the labourers would suffer materially in consequence?—No, it would only oblige them to work better; and they would be much happier and better off than they are now, wasting their time in idleness and dissipation.

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WEDNESDAY, 24th MARCH, 1841.

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*Union Hall Estate, South Naparima.*

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The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

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Doctor *Meikleham* called in, and examined.

54. THE Committee understand you are a medical practitioner in the town of San Fernando; how long have you resided there, and what is the extent of your practice?—Twenty-two years; and my practice comprehends the quarters of North and South Naparima, Savanna Grande, and part of Pointe-à-Pierre.

55. Have you had any practice amongst the immigrants who have arrived here since emancipation?—A great deal.

56. What is your opinion of their state of health, and capability of standing the climate as labourers?—All those of African descent stand the climate well.

57. Do you include the labourers from the United States of America?—I particularly allude to them. They are only liable to a seasoning fever, after which they keep their health well; but they are particularly careless of themselves, and liable to despondency when sick.

58. In what way are they careless?—In exposing themselves (after work they will recline on the ground), and in eating canes and unripe fruit.

59. What is your opinion of the liberated Africans?—The same as the Americans. They are all liable to a seasoning fever at first.

60. You can have no recollection of the period when slaves were introduced, but from your study and reading you are aware that they were subject to a variety of diseases, from which great mortality ensued; might not the same consequences again occur if Africans were introduced in large numbers?—I do not think so. Formerly they were bound to a particular spot, and were compelled to work against their inclination; now they can do as they please, and go where they please.

61. What is your opinion with respect to Europeans as labourers in this climate?—They are not adapted for field labour, and should never be so employed, but may be made useful as stock-keepers, carters, and tradesmen.

62. As your business leads you much over the country, can you inform the Committee whether any individuals are settling upon the Crown lands?—I am told that many have settled about Pointe-à-Pierre, and that the planters there are complaining much of it, but of my own knowledge I am not acquainted with the fact.

63. Amongst the labourers you have attended, do many of them reside upon the lands they have purchased?—A great number.

64. Of what class are they generally?—They are principally those who were formerly slaves upon the estates; very few immigrants have yet purchased lands.

65. How do they principally employ themselves?—They cultivate their own land, and occasionally work out.

66. Have these purchases of land been made principally since emancipation?—In most cases.

67. The Committee have been told that provisions and small stock are now scarcer and dearer than at any former period. How do you account for this, if so many have lately purchased, and now cultivate land on their own account?—They cultivate generally for their own consumption, and sell little in the market.

68. By whom was the country formerly supplied with provisions?—By the slaves.

69. But as the majority of these persons, although now free, are in possession of the same grounds, what is the cause of the diminished supply?—From cultivation having been generally neglected by them throughout these quarters.

70. But is it not generally understood that they live much more expensively than formerly, and how is this increased expense supported?—I suppose they find it easier to gain money by working occasionally upon sugar estates.

71. Then you are of opinion that the high wages they receive has induced them to neglect the cultivation of provisions for sale?—Decidedly so.

72. Under such circumstances, with a large consumption and high price for provisions, would it not be highly advantageous for small farmers to establish themselves for the production of these articles?—I should think so; but I have observed nowhere any such attempt.

73. How is the town of San Fernando, in which you reside, supplied with provisions?—With corn, cassava, plantains, poultry and pigs, from the Spanish Main principally, and with yams from the Island of Grenada.

74. Is the supply, then, from the country around inconsiderable?—

Extremely so; a great many of the smaller class of vegetables are brought from Port of Spain by the steamer and small craft.

75. Has the population of San Fernando increased lately?—I think it has trebled in the town and vicinity since emancipation.

76. Is this population generally orderly and peaceable?—Tolerably so; something better than it was two years ago, when it was much the reverse.

77. To what do you ascribe the latter improvement?—To the activity and firmness of our present resident magistrate in San Fernando.

78. Are many offences against property or person committed?—Petty thefts are very numerous, and I think the labourers are more prone to quarrelling, and using their sticks and cutlasses against each other, than formerly. Within the last two months I have been called in upon more cases of that description than I ever recollect before. I think it absolutely necessary that a gaol and court-house should be established in the town, that a court of criminal sessions should be held there twice a year, and a complaint court, presided over by one of the judges, at least once in two months.

79. How far do you consider the present police force adequate to the repression of any disturbance or breach of the peace, should it occur?—Possibly the police force in San Fernando, consisting of a serjeant and seven men, may be sufficient for that town, as there is a military post in the vicinity; but certainly not for the country around.

80. Is there, then, no police force stationed in the country?—There is a station on the Union Hall estate, but there is seldom a constable in attendance in the day-time, and never one at night; and there is another station at Savanna Grande, where there is always one serjeant and one constable in attendance.

81. What is the population of the quarters to which this force is expected to afford protection?—It is the whole force for North and South Naparima and Savanna Grande, the population of which may consist of 12,000 souls; but I have never seen any census since 1834.

82. Are there not many special constables who can be called on upon an emergency?—There used to be two on each estate, but I am inclined to think that none have been sworn in, according to law, since December last.

83. From your extensive practice throughout the country, you are, no doubt, well acquainted with the state of the roads; in what condition are they now, compared to what they were formerly?—Very bad indeed; they have been gradually getting worse and worse for the last three years.

84. To what cause do you ascribe this circumstance?—I speak as to the fact. As to the cause, it is probably owing to the change of system, and to the difficulty of procuring labour upon the roads since emancipation.

85. From your general acquaintance with the proprietors of estates, are you of opinion that agriculture is in general in a state of prosperity in the three quarters on which you practise?—I think it is improving.

86. Do you think it is profitable?—From all I have heard and have reason to believe, I think that very few estates, after meeting their expenses, have paid ordinary interest of money, in consequence of their enormous expenses in wages of labour, building of cottages,

and in the increased cost of every article required upon an estate, with the exception of the home supplies.

87. Are you of opinion that the opening of San Fernando as a port of entry for foreign vessels will be generally advantageous?—I think it will be of the greatest advantage to all classes throughout the district.

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The Rev. Mr. *Mühlhauser* called in, and examined.

88. WHAT is your profession, and how long have you been resident in the colony?—I am a clergyman of the Church of England, and have had for the last five years spiritual charge of the district of San Fernando, which includes North and South Naparima, Pointe-à-Pierre, and the whole of the southern part of the island from Oropouche to Pointe Icaque.

89. What is your opinion of the general state of the labouring classes since the abolition of apprenticeship?—I think their state is generally improving, both physically and morally; but, unfortunately, they receive too much rum from the planters, which frequently renders them unable to attend divine service, and indifferent to improving their minds.

90. Are you aware of any means by which this evil practice could be repressed; is there no temperance society established in the quarter?—There is none established as yet; a great difficulty arises from the population being collected from all parts of the world, who are, as yet, not settled or stationary, and I think the most efficient means, at the present moment, would be to render it illegal to distribute rum amongst the labourers, which I consider the greatest obstacle to their moral improvement. With respect to marriage, their improvement has been very great: in 1836, I united only one couple; in 1837, three; in 1838, seven; in 1839, fifteen; and in 1840, twenty-nine.

91. Do you think they are generally impressed with a due sense of the duties and obligations of a married state?—I think so, for, with one exception, all are now living happily together.

92. Do you think that the industry of the labourers has generally improved since emancipation?—I can only speak as to the estates which fall under my ministry, and I think they are improving in industry, although there is certainly a great opening for further improvement in this respect.

93. Can you point out to the Committee any measures which will tend, in your estimation, to their further improvement?—I think it would be very advantageous if the practice of paying the people on Sundays, which I know exists in many cases, were entirely done away with, as it frequently interferes with their attendance on divine service.

94. Are you aware of any other improvement by the planters which you can suggest?—I recollect only one, that of discontinuing to cart produce on the Sunday, but which, I am ready to admit, is much less frequent than it was formerly.

95. In general, what are the circumstances and condition of the labouring class which compose your flock; are any of them in want, or in a state of destitution?—Their circumstances are very comfortable, and I know that many of them are saving money.

96. Is that the case generally with all the immigrants?—Generally. Every man who is willing to work can find employment at

good wages. Many of the young immigrants are too fond of play and carousing, and neglect, in consequence, their religious duties as well as their work, and I have much trouble in impressing moral duties upon them.

97. But, in consequence of this neglect of work, are you aware of any of them being in a state of want or starvation?—None; the high wages they receive when they do work prevents that.

98. Are you at all aware of any suffering from sickness or mortality amongst the immigrants of your flock?—No, not more than amongst the natives.

99. Are their children well provided with schools in this colony?—Yes; in proportion to the population, I may say as well provided as in any island in the West Indies. But many difficulties occur, from the population being so thinly scattered over the country.

100. You are then of opinion, that if the population were more dense, it would be more conducive to their moral and religious improvement?—Decidedly so, if the religious establishments and means of instruction were increased in the same proportion; at the present moment, any number of immigrants arriving in North and South Naparima and Savanna Grande would find within a reasonable distance churches and chapel schools, in which divine service is performed every Sunday regularly.

101. Have you met with any backwardness amongst the proprietors to assist in promoting these objects?—Generally speaking, I have met with great support. Land has in all cases been given gratuitously; labour, in many instances, particularly in the cartage of materials; and the pecuniary subscriptions have been very liberal to the church at San Fernando.

102. Have you any liberated Africans attached to your church?—A few.

103. If any more should arrive, what would be the best measures, in your opinion, to adopt?—It is my opinion, that on arrival they should be generally divided, and mixed among the inhabitants, where they could be regularly visited and instructed by a minister.

104. Is there any hospital established in San Fernando for the use of this district?—There is none, which is a great deficiency, for there is none nearer than Port of Spain; and frequently the captains of droghers and the steamer will not take them up when extremely sick, as it would deter other passengers from embarking. I have been obliged to pay as high as seven dollars to get a sick person conveyed to town.

105. Would it not be possible, in this populous district, to establish an hospital by voluntary subscriptions?—I do not think it could be done by voluntary subscriptions alone; they might come in aid of a government establishment, and there are really so many urgent cases of distress, arising from accidents, that it would be most desirable to have one established.

106. As by your statement the labouring classes make money with so much facility, would it not be advantageous to establish a benefit society amongst them, for their protection in sickness?—I have a benefit society, but it only embraces assistance in old age, nourishment and attendance in sickness, and, in case of death, funeral expenses; and three dollars afforded to married lying-in women; but it does not afford medical treatment, as the funds are not sufficient.

107. Do you generally find the labourers disposed to subscribe to this fund?—Not generally. The whole number does not exceed 120 to 130. When in good health they are not disposed to pay for future

sickness, which, they imagine, will never occur. But it is a matter so essential, that every effort will be made to increase the society for the future.

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THURSDAY, 6th MAY, 1841.

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*Paradise Estate, Tacarigua.*

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The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

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The Rev. J. H. Hamilton called in, and examined.

108. THE Committee are informed that you are a clergyman of the Church of England. How long have you resided in the colony, and what districts are included in your spiritual charge?—Nearly four years. St. Joseph's, Tacarigua, Arouca, and Arima, are all under my charge.

109. What do you consider to be the population of these districts, and what proportion of them are attached to your flock?—I really know of no correct data on which to form an estimate. The population has increased since emancipation, and is increasing every day. Three large villages have sprung up on the line of road to Arima, and settlers are establishing themselves everywhere. The number attending the ministry of the Church of England may amount to about 1,500 adults.

110. What accommodation do you possess in these districts in the shape of churches and schools?—One school-house in Tacarigua, erected by private subscription, amounting to 636*l.* sterling, towards which the bishop of the diocese furnished 150*l.* sterling, capable of containing 250 persons, and which is on Sundays used as a place of divine worship. In the town of St. Joseph's, an old barrack-room serves as a school-room and place of divine worship on Sunday; and in the village of Arima, the police station serves for similar purposes.

111. Do you consider these accommodations to be sufficient?—Certainly I do not.

112. What do you find to be the state of morality amongst the labouring classes?—Generally speaking, their moral and religious state is at a very low ebb indeed, but a gradual improvement is taking place.

113. In what particular points do you find this improvement?—In a more steady attendance at divine service, and less desecration of the Sabbath in dancing and other riotous amusements; increasing marriages, and the abandonment of many superstitious and improper customs.

114. Do you think that they have latterly improved in industry, frugality, and sobriety?—Considering their recent emancipation, and the benighted state in which it found them, added to the very high rate of wages they receive, I think there is more industry amongst them than we could reasonably have anticipated. With regard to their sobriety, the large quantity of rum gratuitously distributed on the estates presents a temptation to inebriety which they cannot resist; and I certainly cannot say that they are frugal, being very extravagant in their dress, and squander much money in amusements and luxuries.

115. Then you do not consider that they have improved in these respects since emancipation?—Quite the reverse. The high wages they receive, and their few necessary wants, supply too ample means for temptation.

116. Are you of opinion that any real solid improvement in religious morality can accompany such a state of society?—It certainly renders it more difficult; but as their opportunities of religious improvements are now increased, I have every hope, when the evils alluded to meet the attention of Government, that these difficulties will be gradually removed.

117. You have stated that one great cause of their inebriety arises from the quantity of rum distributed gratuitously by the planters. Have you endeavoured to inculcate upon your parishioners the propriety of giving up this demoralising practice?—Frequently.

118. What answer has been made to your representations? Do they hold out any hope or expectation of the practice being shortly abandoned?—The planters have invariably admitted that the practice is demoralising and pernicious, but complain of a want of unanimity in endeavouring to put it down.

119. But do you consider it a valid objection that an individual should not abandon a bad practice because his neighbour refuses to reform also?—I do not consider it a good objection, but, under existing circumstances, an individual might suffer most materially; in fact, he might lose many of his labourers by attempting such a reform alone.

120. Then you think that the difficulty in the way of reform lies more with the labouring population than with the planters?—I do not consider that the labourers as a body would object to the withdrawal of the allowance of rum, whether effected through a Government order or otherwise, provided they received an equivalent in money.

121. What, then, are the Committee to understand to be the existing circumstances which, you stated in a former reply, would prevent a planter from attempting this reform, lest he should incur the risk of losing his labourers?—The existing circumstances to which I alluded are founded upon a paucity of labourers, and the competition for their services tends to the continuance of the evil, for the planters are unable to suppress the practice unless they act with unanimity.

122. You are then of opinion that, if some of the planters withdrew the allowance of rum, whilst others continued it, the latter would have greater advantages in the market for labour?—I consider that the measure must be universal and unanimous to succeed.

123. Has any temperance society been formed in these districts?—Not to my knowledge.

124. As the Committee know that the Agricultural Society, as a body, have recommended to his Excellency the Governor to establish a money rate in lieu of the allowance of rum now given, and as you seem of opinion that the labourers would agree to the commutation, might not great facilities to the change be afforded by establishing a temperance society in these districts?—Gradual good might result therefrom, but from the large quantity of spirits delivered, great difficulty would attend the measure.

125. Does not the greatness of the evil suggest the necessity of immediately adopting a measure which would tend, although only slowly and gradually, to remove it?—From the low state of their

moral and religious character, and the little trust to be placed in any temperance pledge that might be given by the labourers, with the facility of evading it, and the temptation so to do, I think that very little good would result from the adoption of a temperance society.

126. What is the general condition of the labouring class composing your flock? Are they ever in want of employment, or of the means of procuring a comfortable subsistence?—They are never in want of employment, and are in a state of great prosperity; and they have a great command of money, as evinced in the expenses they incur in dress and domestic comforts.

127. Do they pay readily for the schooling of their children?—The charge imposed is half a bit ( $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  stg.) per week for each child, to which they were much opposed at first.

128. Have you many immigrants under your spiritual charge?—Several from the Leeward Islands, and some from the United States of America.

129. Do they enjoy the same advantages as the natives in finding constant employment and making money?—Equally the same, besides some extra allowances for the first six months after their arrival, to afford them time to establish gardens.

130. The Committee understand, from your former replies, that a large number of labouring immigrants have arrived since emancipation in these districts, and you say that they are encouraged to cultivate gardens. Have they, to your knowledge, assisted in any way to reduce the price of small stock and garden stuffs by their labour?—No, they have not; on the contrary, I think that poultry and vegetables are now higher in price than ever they were.

131. Is it within your knowledge that labourers have generally a great deal of leisure time which might be devoted to the raising of these articles?—Yes, they have, as I generally meet them in my pastoral visits to the estates, returning from their daily labour out of crop season, between eleven and twelve o'clock in the morning, having the remainder of the day to themselves.

132. If provisions and vegetables are then so scarce, and prices so high, to what circumstance do you ascribe their not furnishing a better supply to the market?—They generally consume themselves the poultry and vegetables they raise, and their wages are so ample, that they find no necessity for any further exertion.

133. Do you believe that they are generally furnished upon estates with as much ground as they may wish to cultivate?—To the best of my knowledge, there is no limit to the extent of the ground they may wish to cultivate in these districts.

134. Would labourers, either native or immigrant, find any difficulty in purchasing lands if they are so disposed?—I know of no difficulty, and in many cases they have already purchased extensively. Most estates have more land uncultivated than they have in use, which the proprietors, I believe, would readily sell.

135. Have immigrants suffered severely from sickness or mortality?—The Europeans have, but those of African descent are liable generally to a seasoning fever only, and as far as I can ascertain, the mortality is not greater than amongst the natives.

136. Have you reason to believe that they have generally improved their condition by migrating to this island?—They have certainly bettered their condition by finding higher rates of wages, and unlimited employment.

137. Do you think that the native labourers have in any way been



injured, or their circumstances deteriorated, by the introduction of so many immigrants?—Their temporal condition has been by no means injured, and I think that the introduction of the immigrants from the United States of America and the old islands will tend, by the better example they have shown, to improve their moral conduct; and, as many of the existing evils in our rural population arise from the great demand for labourers, the consequent competition for their services amongst the proprietors, and the various indulgences afforded to the former, I cannot but think that these evils have been in some degree lessened by the number of immigrants introduced.

138. To what do you ascribe the moral superiority you have observed amongst the old islands' labourers, as compared to our own?—From a residence for many years in most of the Leeward Islands, I ascribe it to more attention having been paid to their moral and religious instruction, both in early years and after-life, and from the means of religious instruction being easily accessible to all classes.

139. Are you of opinion, then, that this colony does not furnish the same facilities for religious instruction as the old islands?—I do not think it does.

140. Will you state your reasons for coming to this conclusion?—In the extensive districts of which I am minister, there was, at the period of my arrival, only one small school in the town of St. Joseph's, and in the populous quarter of Tacarigua there was neither school-house nor church. Although, by the liberality of the proprietary body and others, aided by the bishop of the diocese, we have since erected a large and commodious school-house, we still require a church, for which I have already received very liberal subscriptions from the proprietors and several hundreds of the labourers, and want only aid from the Government to enable me to commence it. And I must also add, from my ministerial experience in the old colonies, that they present, in consequence of their dense population and limited size, facilities for imparting instruction, which the scattered population of this large island cannot at present afford.

141. In what way does our scattered population present obstacles to religious instruction?—From the great distance between the different settlements rendering a communication with the resident population extremely difficult, and in some seasons almost impossible; and, as an instance, I may state that I have recently visited the settlements of the disbanded black soldiers at Manzanilla, at the request of the bishop, and although I am the nearest Protestant minister, and might effect a little good by occasional visits, I find that I should be unable to pay them that close attention which their spiritual wants require, solely from the difficulties arising from the distance and the bad state of the roads.

142. The Committee beg to know whether you are in any way interested in the profits of sugar cultivation?—I am not in any way.

143. Your statements, then, with respect to the conduct and morals of the labouring population, result solely from your intercourse with them in your ministerial capacity?—Completely so.

144. With respect to the domestics of your household, has their conduct improved since emancipation, or not?—I have found some good, and some quite the reverse.

145. Has the rate of wages for domestics increased?—I am obliged to pay very high wages; I pay a man-servant twelve dollars a month, and a female servant ten dollars.

146. Do you contract for their services by the year or the month? By the month.

147. Do you require in all cases certificates of character previously to taking them into your service?—I regret to say that such certificates are, generally speaking, neither given nor required in this colony.

148. Do you not consider this to be a necessary precaution?—I do; but such is the scarcity of domestic servants, that necessity obliges us to take those whose characters will not always stand the test of rigid inquiry.

149. Can you depend upon their remaining steadily in your service for any length of time?—They consider themselves bound for only one month, and might be disposed to remain steadily in your service, but in crop season are tempted to resort to the estates by the high wages given, and quit your service.

150. Why do you not, then, engage their services by the year?—Because they will not enter into any such contract.

151. Are you, then, liable to be left occasionally without any domestics?—That has occurred to me once, lately, with respect to female servants.

152. Independently of the gratuitous distribution of rum of which you have complained, are you aware of any other proceedings of the planters unfavourable to the moral improvement of the labourers?—I have reason to believe that the payment of wages on Sunday continues in some instances.

153. The Committee have been informed that in some parts of the island cartage of produce on the Sunday has not altogether ceased; have you observed any such practice in your districts?—I have seen it done very rarely, and I have reason to believe not by any portion of the Protestant inhabitants.

154. You have stated that you recently visited, at the request of the bishop, the settlements of the black disbanded soldiers to the eastward; in what condition do they appear, as compared to the settlements and villages in these districts?—Some of their houses are very good, but the generality of them very inferior; and with regard to dress and exterior appearance, they are much behind the agricultural labourers in the sugar districts.

155. Do they exhibit neat cultivation, showing an appearance of abundance around them?—Some few had tolerable gardens, but the houses of the majority are surrounded with brushwood, without any signs of cultivation; their provision grounds are planted, I understand, at a distance.

156. What do you compute to be the distance between the nearest and furthest settlement?—I consider it to be fifteen miles from La Cèiva to Manzanilla.

157. Do they keep the line of road in good order?—A distance of nine miles from Terrere to Mount Calabash was almost impassable at my visit, from bad bridges, fallen trees, and mud, although it was in the middle of the dry season; the remainder, from the nature of the soil and the locality, forms a tolerable bridle road.

158. Do they seem in a prosperous state, as if in possession of abundant means?—They seem to be in possession of abundance of provisions, but they complained to me of the great difficulty of converting them into money; that occasionally their yams rotted on their hands, from their inability to find a market for them.

159. What distance, then, do you compute their settlements to be from the market of Tacarigua, where articles of this description are represented to be so scarce and dear?—A distance of about twenty-five miles, rendering it impossible, for any profitable purpose, to convey their provisions to this market.

160. What is apparently their moral and religious condition?—I am sorry to say that their moral and religious state is most deplorable. From the entire want, for a long series of years, of clerical instruction, even the outward form of Christianity has almost disappeared amongst them; indeed, melancholy to relate, many of them have relapsed into the errors of Mahometanism, under the guidance of three Mandingo priests established amongst them. One of the number can write, and has copied portions of the Koran, which he reads to his assembled followers, and to whom they seem to look up with the greatest reverence. It is necessary to observe, that these men, when in the British army, were instructed by the military chaplains in the doctrines of the Established Church, and but for their removal to so isolated a position, and consequent privation of all means of confirming them in the faith of our holy religion, might at this day have been good Christians.

161. What remedy would you recommend for this evil?—On this subject I have already addressed his Excellency the Governor and the bishop of the diocese, and suggested the necessity of a resident clergyman, efficient schoolmaster, and a regular medical practitioner, as they have no physician within thirty miles of them; and if this cannot be effected, I certainly think it will be expedient to remove them to a more settled and civilised district, where these wants can be supplied.

162. Do you think that the settlers themselves would be disposed to adopt the latter alternative?—The two propositions were made to me by the people themselves; and from what I saw and heard as to the difficulty of conveying their produce to a market, I think they would rather incline to the latter alternative. The Government has certainly done every thing in its power to obviate the difficulty, by sending a vessel occasionally to carry the produce of their gardens to Port of Spain; but from the length, difficulty, and danger of the voyage, the whole arrangement is liable to frequent disappointment.

163. Have you had any intercourse with the liberated Africans landed here about five years ago?—Very little.

164. Do you think that the introduction of any additional number of these people from Sierra Leone, or elsewhere, would be attended with any inconvenient or disadvantageous results?—I do not see that any disadvantage could arise from it.

SATURDAY, 8th MAY, 1841.

*Port of Spain.*

The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

*Richard S. Darling, Esq., called in, and examined.*

165. How long have you resided in this colony?—Between nine and ten years.

166. In what capacity or profession?—I first acted as planting attorney for Joseph Wilson, Son & Co., of Dublin. I am now in general mercantile business, and act as attorney for seven estates in different parts of the island.

167. As you were here during slavery and apprenticeship, please to state whether the expenses of cultivation have much increased since emancipation?—The expenses of cultivation have nearly doubled the cash wages alone, without allowances, being nearly one-half of the whole expenditure.

168. At what rate were wages fixed immediately after emancipation?—At 30 cents (15*d.* sterling), with some allowances per task.

169. What do you mean by a task?—A certain amount of labour which we agreed to take in lieu of a day's work.

170. Did it constitute in fact a good day's work?—Not at all; it was frequently and easily performed in four hours.

171. What was the cause of the planters selecting this small portion instead of requiring a good day's labour?—The planter did not select or fix it. He found this small task already established as a day's labour. The slaves had been for years endeavouring to do as little work as possible, and trying to conceal their power and capability, in which they were uniformly supported by the protector of slaves and stipendiary magistrates.

172. Are you, then, of opinion that habits of industry\* amongst the negroes were injured by the ordinances for melioration of slavery?—They certainly encouraged the desire which every man naturally has, of doing as little work as possible.

173. You state that the labour-market opened after emancipation at a fixed price per task. Can all work on a sugar estate be done by the task?—Not all. It is principally confined to weeding, trenching, and all out-of-crop work in general. In time of crop it is limited to cutting canes, carting and crooking\* them to the mill; but in all cases, whether by task or the day's work, you are obliged to stipulate what the day's work should be, to ensure a reasonable quantity being performed.

174. In hiring labourers by the day for work in the mill and boiling-house, at what hour do they turn out in the morning?—It is very difficult to get the work fairly commenced before seven in the morning, and generally it ends between five and six. Great loss ensues from the present mode of proceeding, particularly in this island, where the dry weather, in which the crop is made, is more limited in time than in the old islands.

\* Carrying canes on the backs of mules is termed "crooking."

175. Would it not be possible to save the crops in our short dry season, by hiring additional hands to work in the mill and boiling-house after half-past five and six o'clock in the evening for extra wages?—Quite out of the question. With our present limited population, it is difficult to induce them to work steadily during the hours which they themselves have selected.

176. You are not, then, always sure of their working during the hours you have mentioned?—Never; it depends entirely upon the will and pleasure of the labourers. You cannot tell on Saturday night whether your mill can be put about on Monday or not; and nothing ensures its being done on any day, but having more labourers settled on the estate than is necessary to do the work. They do, in fact, as they please. On the Hermitage estate, a week or two since, we stopped the mill for the purpose of getting the canes wed, but they all refused to weed, and after attempting it for a week, we were obliged to desist and re-commence grinding canes again.

177. Why do you not attempt to make fixed contracts with your labourers, before a magistrate, to work for the crop season, or even a month or a week?—They invariably refuse to enter into any contracts, and can always find employment whenever they please without it. They even frequently throw up their work after it is commenced, from the most capricious motives. I have known a carter, directed to take canes from a particular part of the field, which being cut earliest were liable to become sour, declare that he would not be dictated to, and leave his cart in the field. They frequently refuse to work unless allowed to take some favourite animal in preference. On Retrench estate, in South Naparima, which in general is as well supplied with labour as those around it, some feast or holiday, about a month since, attracted the Spanish peons, who usually cut our canes, and the whole manufactory would have been stopped if other labourers were not procured to supply their places. The manager had the greatest difficulty in inducing the labourers previously engaged to weed to cut canes in their stead, and then only under the condition that they should be allowed to cut what piece they pleased on the estate, and he was obliged to consent to their cutting a piece which had been reserved in the proper routine of the work until a later period, by which our whole plans are materially deranged.

178. In the cases alluded to, cannot you obtain redress by application to a magistrate?—In the case of the Retrench estate, which is in South Naparima, the proprietors in general consider it to be useless to apply for redress to the stipendiary magistrate appointed to act in that district. In the first place, he does not understand the language of the inhabitants of the quarter, who, almost without exception, speak French and English, whilst he is a native of Spain; and, in general, very little confidence is placed in his judgment. But even in other districts, where no objection to the magistrate exists, so much uncertainty prevails as to the result, so much loss of time by attendance of managers and witnesses, with a great risk of much unpopularity attaching to the former, interfering with his future exertions to procure labour, that it is in general found advisable to pass over even more heinous offences than I have enumerated. Even when I have represented to the managers that it would never answer to pass over all offences, and that it would be better to select some one culprit as an example, we have found, after going to the expense of citing the party, that it operated only as a notice for him to

abscond, taking with him such tools belonging to the estate as happened to be in his possession.

179. Have they, then, no fixed property of their own upon the estate to prevent such practices?—Very few have. The great majority are in an unsettled state, having no fixed residence, moving about from estate to estate, which accounts for the difficulty which I understand exists in the way of making out a census of the population, which cannot be correctly effected unless the whole are numbered on one fixed day. Even then it would be imperfect, as you cannot ascertain what number may have taken up their lodgings in the labourers' houses during the preceding night, and no true information can be extracted from the labourers themselves on the subject. There are a certain number of the old estates' people of a different character, who possess some property; many of them own and keep horses upon the estate, and this class of persons is generally well-behaved.

180. Do you consider, then, our native labourers more settled in their habits than the immigrants?—Much more so. I will make this distinction in favour of the Americans, that they do not move from mere caprice as the others do, but from a wish to undertake more profitable employments, and I think they will, ultimately, as many have already done, abandon daily labour on estates and become contractors for job-work, and act as middle-men.

181. Are you acquainted with the liberated Africans as labourers?—I have employed a great number of them, and, generally speaking, prefer them as labourers to the old island immigrants. They are steadier workers, and more hardy in the field.

182. Has there been a considerable immigration of labourers into the colony since emancipation?—Very considerable, and it seems to become more steady and regular every day.

183. You stated in one of your former replies that wages had been fixed at the period of emancipation at thirty cents (1s. 3d. sterling) for the task. Have they fallen since, in proportion to the number of immigrants arriving?—Instead of falling they have been gradually rising, and are now at a higher point than they have ever been before.

184. How do you account for this very extraordinary anomaly?—To the continued competition for labourers amongst the planters, coupled with the gradual rise in the price of sugar during the same period. And it must also be borne in mind, that although the number of immigrants has been great, the number of days' labour has by no means increased in the same proportion; in fact, the higher the wages, the less is the necessity of working steadily.

185. Why, then, have not the proprietors in the colony combined to keep down the rate of wages to its original standard?—It was partially attempted, but entirely failed, as there was found to be no steady or honest co-operation; and I may add, as another reason for increased wages, that great numbers of labourers are continually settling on lands they have purchased, and a very great number upon lands belonging to other persons or to the Crown.

186. If squatting is then carried on to so great an extent, why do not the planters who are so much interested in the matter take measures to prevent it?—It cannot be prevented under the present ordinance, from its inherent defects, and never will be under any ordinance, unless an executive officer is appointed by Government to enforce it. I know at this moment of a case in which the squatters

are well known to the adjacent proprietors, but lest they should lose the few days' labour which they occasionally afford, they are not disposed to take steps which might lead to their ejection, although they are continually complaining of the circumstance.

187. You have stated that wages have been increasing in proportion to the rise in the sugar market. Has not, then, the profits of cultivation been greater in 1840, during the extreme high prices of sugar, than in 1838 and 1839?—Certainly not. I rather think much less; many estates, I am sure, must have incurred a great loss; but the expenses of an estate are not solely dependent upon the rate of wages; they have latterly been materially increased by the growing carelessness of the labourers, the irregularity of their work, and their reckless disregard of the stock and utensils. I paid, at first, the mule-boys and carters in proportion to the number of loads of canes they brought to the mill; but this, in most instances, I have been obliged to renounce to save the cattle from being over-driven. Great loss also arises from the labourers taking our canes to any extent they please for themselves and pigs, which the manager is obliged to wink at; without adverting to the fires which are continually occurring from their carelessness, by which the heaviest losses are sustained.

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MONDAY, 24th MAY, 1841.

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*Port of Spain.*

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The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

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*W. Hamilton, Esq., called in, and examined.*

188. THE Committee understand that you have recently arrived in this colony with a large number of liberated African labourers from Sierra Leone: be so good as to explain the circumstances under which this voyage was undertaken?—In consequence of a communication from the Governor of Sierra Leone to Lord John Russell, stating a desire on the part of the liberated Africans to emigrate to Trinidad, I was applied to by several gentlemen in London connected with the latter colony, who, having heard that I had resided upwards of three years in Sierra Leone, consulted with me as to the disposition of the people to emigrate, and in such case whether I would superintend the expedition. Being convinced of the practicability of the plan, and of the advantages it held out to Africa as well as to the West Indies, I undertook the management of the first attempt, and, having obtained the consent of the colonial minister, embarked in the *Elizabeth and Jane*, a vessel engaged for the purpose, and arrived in Sierra Leone, after a passage of thirty days, on the 16th March, and reported my arrival to Sir John Jeremie, the Governor, and acquainted his Excellency with the object of my visit to the colony.

189. Did Sir John Jeremie appear to be aware of the object of your voyage previous to your arrival?—He was aware of it, and stated the same to me.

190. What orders and instructions did he give in consequence?—He stated that he would not interfere in any way with the disposition of the people with respect to emigration, but leave them to pursue their own inclinations entirely, which he acted upon throughout, and two days after my arrival issued a circular to the managers of the different villages, directing them to act upon the same principle.

191. Did you in effect meet with any difficulty or obstruction from any of the subordinate authorities of the colony to the objects of your mission?—Not the slightest; but my operations were confined to Free Town, where I met with no obstruction on the part of the authorities. I found some rumours afloat, that the people on arrival in the West Indies would be sold into slavery, the source of which I could not trace.

192. Do you think that this rumour had any effect in deterring individuals from embarking?—I have not the slightest doubt of it.

193. Did you apply to Sir John Jeremie to contradict publicly a report which was in fact libellous upon the British Colonial Government?—I did not, for fortunately at that critical moment about 300 men of the 3d West India black regiment arrived in the colony, and I confidently referred to them for a true account of the state of affairs in the West Indies; and, after some shrewd and close inquiries had been made at that source, I found that I had as many applicants as the Elizabeth and Jane could carry.

194. When you say that no obstructions were thrown in your way, do you mean that you had no formalities to comply with, or fees to pay, prior to the embarkation of the emigrants?—By a colonial law, persons intending to leave the colony are compelled to post up their names ten days previously in the secretary's office, and take out a passport, for which a fee of 2s. 6d. sterling is charged; but his Excellency Sir John Jeremie, when made acquainted with the circumstance, expressed his intention to modify or remove this regulation.

195. Were you furnished with a copy of our Trinidad Immigration Ordinance previous to your leaving London?—Yes, I was.

196. Were you governed by this ordinance with respect to the number of passengers, and the stores and provisions required to be embarked for their use during the voyage?—I intended and expected to have acted under the regulations of this ordinance, but found that I was required in Sierra Leone to act under an ordinance promulgated by Sir John Jeremie, which, from the extended scale of allowance with respect to water, entailed a great expense in the additional purchase of casks.

197. What is the difference in the allowance of water required under the two ordinances?—The difference is 3-10ths of a gallon per day in the Sierra Leone Ordinance; but in addition, the passage is rated at eight weeks, instead of six, allowed by the Trinidad regulation.

198. What was the length of your passage?—Within twenty-nine days from embarkation to coming to anchor in the harbour of Port of Spain.

199. Do you not consider this a very short passage, and much less than an average one?—I do not. The whole distance is about three thousand miles, and we had light airs and calms about ten days on the coast; and I fairly consider thirty days to be a certain average passage.

200. The Committee observe by Parliamentary papers laid before



the House of Lords in 1791, relative to the slave trade, that the average length of passages was considered at that time to be fifty-one days?—This might have been an average passage, taking all the ports and places nearer the line from whence slaves were brought; but considering the position of Sierra Leone, with a trade wind regularly blowing across the Atlantic, I am decidedly of opinion, which in some respects I may be considered as competent to give, having sailed twenty years in the royal navy, that thirty days from Sierra Leone to Trinidad is a fair average passage.

201. You had then a large surplus of water and provisions on hand when you arrived?—Yes, I had, but the provisions were very salcable. The loss arose principally from the overstock of water, which took up much room on board, and required an extra number of casks, upon which there has been great loss.

202. Did Sir John Jeremie's Ordinance differ from the Immigration Act of Trinidad with respect to the number of passengers, and the equal proportion of the sexes, which the latter prescribes?—Sir John Jeremie's Ordinance was, in fact, an adoption of the British Passengers' Act (save and except the allowance of food and water), which Act agrees with that of Trinidad with respect to the proportion of the number of passengers to the tonnage, but contains no restriction as to the equal proportion of the sexes. But his Excellency stated that he had no objection to my taking three males to two females, which I could not venture to act upon, having been instructed in London to adhere strictly to the Trinidad Ordinance.

203. But it appears that Sir John Jeremie would not allow you to act under the Trinidad Ordinance with respect to the allowance of water and provision?—Certainly not, and I could not have sailed without complying with his regulations.

204. You then, in fact, were bound by the most stringent and unfavourable regulations which were to be found in both ordinances?—Certainly. I was obliged to follow the Sierra Leone Ordinance with respect to the extra quantity of water, and have started here at least one-half of what I took on board; and I was also obliged to follow the Trinidad Ordinance with respect to the equal proportion of the sexes, when Sir John Jeremie would have allowed me to take three men to two women, which is the proportion fixed by the Jamaica Act.

205. In this respect, therefore, Jamaica enjoys at the present moment a privilege of which Trinidad is deprived?—Certainly, in respect to the proportion of the sexes, it does.

206. What do you consider to be the population of Sierra Leone?—Near 50,000, in which I include the population of the whole colony.

207. Is not this a smaller number than the whole of the liberated Africans who have been landed from time to time in the colony?—Certainly, for from a document now in my possession the number landed from 1808 to 1833 amounted, even at that distant period, to 44,000, and since then I know that during only two successive years as many as 15,000 more were landed; but in the last case I speak from memory.

208. To what cause do you ascribe this decrease in the population?—To the difference in the proportion of the sexes landed from the captured slave ships, and to the immense number of deaths during the first six months after their arrival.

209. Have you good authority for this statement?—I examined

this subject fully when chief clerk in the captured negro department at Sierra Leone, which office I filled for fifteen months, and had free access to all the documents.

210. Could the Elizabeth and Jane have brought any cargo from Sierra Leone besides her passengers?—I asked the captain this question at sea, and he told me he could have carried about 250 tons of cargo in addition.

211. What was her tonnage?—Three hundred and thirty-six tons.

212. What articles could be exported advantageously from Sierra Leone to Trinidad, so as to give a vessel carrying passengers additional profit in freight?—Planks, scantling and shingles, decidedly, which articles I understand are in great demand in this colony, and bear a high price. Rice also would answer well, as it is frequently to be purchased at Sierra Leone at 7*l.* sterling a ton,—I mean red rice. I am not aware of any other articles which would answer for the market of this colony.

213. What timber do you allude to, and at what price could it be furnished per thousand feet?—Brimstone, white wismore and cedar, which can be furnished at twenty-five dollars to thirty dollars per thousand feet.

214. Are these durable woods capable of standing in the ground for any length of time without perishing?—Brimstone is a hard and durable wood, but not so durable as teak, and that would be infinitely higher in price.

215. How long have you now been in the colony, and what opportunity have you had of seeing the various districts in it?—I have been fifteen days in the colony, during which period I have made it my duty to visit every district except Chaguanas, in which the Sierra Leone labourers are located.

216. What was their state of health during the middle passage?—A few of them, according to the doctor's report, suffered from inflammatory fever shortly after embarking, arising from change of diet as to quantity and quality, from which they soon recovered, and the doctor's principal duty afterwards was to attend to some old sores and ulcers, which several had been labouring under for a long time previously to their coming on board, and the whole landed in excellent health, excepting an infant under twelve months old, who died three days before our arrival from some pulmonary affection.

217. Did they seem happy and contented during the passage, as if under no apprehensions with respect to their future condition?—They appeared quite happy and contented, and the stories which had been circulated in Sierra Leone as to my intention to sell them into slavery was frequently a subject of joke amongst them during the voyage.

218. As since your arrival you have had opportunities of visiting the several estates on which they are settled, please to state their present feelings and impressions?—I have seen the greater part of them; most of them have thanked me for bringing them to a good country, and have asked me to send their friends from Sierra Leone to join them. In no case have I heard a single expression of disappointment except from a few masons and carpenters, who said they could do better in Sierra Leone.

219. Is it possible that they could do better as masons and carpenters at Sierra Leone, as they readily earn here one dollar per day for their work?—Those I allude to were complaining rather of their not finding employment at their trades, than of the amount of wages. They were working as labourers in the cane-pieces; but even these requested

me to send their friends from Sierra Leone to join them, and on my suggesting that, as they were dissatisfied, they had better return and join their friends there, they seem by no means disposed to accede to my recommendation.

220. Are you yourself now seriously of opinion, from what you have seen and witnessed, that these people have greatly improved their condition by coming to this colony?—Not a question of it; and I feel the greatest gratification at having been instrumental in conferring so great a benefit on so many of my fellow-creatures. In the first place, the rate of wages at Sierra Leone does not exceed 4*d.* per day, and at this rate there is a great scarcity of employment. As assistant surveyor, which office I filled for six months, I have frequently turned away from 200 to 300 men soliciting employment at that rate. I am now talking of Free Town; but in the villages and sea districts, I am at a loss to conceive what employment can be found for the population.

221. How then do they earn the means of subsistence?—By rearing some pigs and poultry.

222. Have they any market to which they can convey these articles?—In the sea districts they have a very limited market in the supply of the schools, but affording a poor resource to so large a population. Free Town, the capital, affords a good market, to which the residents within ten to twelve miles around bring their produce in baskets upon their heads, and return the same day.

223. Do they raise no exportable articles?—A small quantity of ginger, arrow-root and pepper. I have heard of nothing else.

224. What do you consider to be the quality of soil in Sierra Leone as compared with that of Trinidad?—They may be classed in the two extremes: one as inferior as it can be, and the other amongst the richest I have ever seen.

225. Have any of the emigrants you brought out remarked upon this difference when you last saw them?—They immediately pointed out to me the difference between the canes here and at Sierra Leone, where a few are brought into the market to suck, which in derision they likened to their little finger, as compared to those of this country.

226. Did they find any difficulty in getting into immediate employment on arrival?—Quite the contrary; such was the competition to obtain their services, that they were immediately aware of the increased independence of their position. I even observed it in their bearing to myself.

227. What number of labourers do you think could be procured from Sierra Leone?—Ten thousand could be immediately removed, with the greatest advantage to themselves, and to those they would leave behind.

228. Have you had any opportunity of ascertaining what wages the labourers you brought with you have been earning since their arrival?—All had performed one task, by which they earned half a dollar, besides an allowance of salt cod-fish and flour; a few had performed two tasks per day; and when they are better acquainted with the cane cultivation, they will certainly do as much as the native labourers.

229. But if, immediately on arrival here, and before they are accustomed to the work, they can easily earn half a dollar a day, besides an allowance of provisions, whilst the maximum rate of wages at Sierra Leone is only 4*d.* per day, would it not be advantageous to the

whole population of that colony to remove hither?—Certainly, if wages continued at Sierra Leone at the same rate of depression; but I should hope by the removal of 10,000 to this colony, that wages would rise there, and create increased activity and prosperity in the whole community; for I have always observed, that a low rate of wages is a concomitant of poverty and distress.

230. But if you think that only 10,000 labourers can be spared from Sierra Leone, this number would constitute a fraction only of the supply required by Trinidad, Guiana, and Jamaica. Are you aware of any other sources from which labourers can be procured on the coast?—By proposing the removal of 10,000 only in the first instance, I anticipate from the rise of wages at Sierra Leone a stream of immigration from the interior, so that, notwithstanding a continued and regular emigration of labourers from thence to the West Indies, I have every expectation that the population of Sierra Leone would gradually increase.

231. Pray inform the Committee how many Kroomen you brought with you in the Elizabeth and Jane, and what employment they have found in this colony?—There were sixteen of them, and they are all working on plantations.

232. The Committee were under an impression that this class of people would only work on shipboard or on the sea-shore; how do you account for this circumstance?—I consider their present employment as only temporary, and that they will ultimately resume their favourite occupation on shipboard.

233. Did they make any complaint to you of being obliged to enter into agricultural employments?—Not the least; they seemed as well satisfied as the others; and I can only account for what has surprised myself, by supposing that it arises from their being furnished with houses gratis.

234. Do you think that any considerable number of Kroomen can be procured from Sierra Leone or elsewhere on the coast, if this colony continues to hold out prospects sufficiently attractive to them?—Yes; I am assured by the Kroomen, who are now here, that many of their countrymen would come if made acquainted with the advantages of Trinidad.

235. But how is the difficulty respecting the equality of the sexes to be got over if the Kroomen, as is generally represented, never carry their families with them?—As they are a stout, fine-looking race of fellows, they will have no difficulty, when they know the regulation under which their passages alone can be paid, in inducing a sufficient number of women in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone to accompany them to Trinidad.

236. Are the Kroomen a numerous race of people?—I believe so; I know there is a law which prohibits too great a number of them from settling in Sierra Leone, to prevent their throwing the liberated Africans out of employment.

237. Then, in fact, the employment we can furnish to the people of Sierra Leone here will not only benefit them, but other tribes of native Africans on the coast?—Certainly it would.

238. Do the Kroomen you have brought seem anxious to know whether there will be any opportunity by which they may return, should they desire it, to Africa?—They have expressed no anxiety upon the subject, for they are well aware that when they wish to return, they have only to enter as seamen on board of ships, and find their way home by way of England. As to the liberated Africans,

they seem at present only anxious to have their friends and relatives brought to Trinidad; but I think it would be politic and liberal to furnish a vessel occasionally if any of them should wish to return. I am assured that no great number would feel disposed to avail themselves of the opportunity, for before I left Sierra Leone I pledged myself publicly to pay the passages of six persons back to report as to the actual state of affairs in Trinidad; and I find, on recently applying to them, that not six persons are disposed to return, unless they are paid Trinidad wages during their absence.

239. Do you think there would be any difficulty in procuring labourers from other parts of the coast from whence slaves are now brought to foreign colonies?—I do not profess to be well acquainted with other parts of Africa besides Sierra Leone; but I am of opinion that, excepting the Kroomen, few of the natives are perfectly free and independent, and their removal could never be effected without first purchasing the consent of their native chiefs.

240. Where would be the objection to such an arrangement?—I should consider such an arrangement virtually slave-dealing.

241. You do not imagine, then, that after paying their chiefs to allow them to take a free passage to Trinidad, they would be made slaves on their arrival here?—Certainly not.

242. In what respect, then, do you consider this would be virtually slave-dealing?—It would not be a voluntary act on the part of the emigrants.

243. But could it not be easily made a voluntary act by inducing some of the Kroomen from hence to instruct the natives in the difference between being forced in irons on board a slaver bound to the Brazils or Cuba, there to work as slaves for the rest of their lives; or taking the pleasant passage you have described in the *Elizabeth* and *Jane*, on board a British vessel to a British colony, where they would be employed as freemen at high wages?—I do not think that persons under such circumstances can emigrate voluntarily.

244. The Committee cannot understand why they should not emigrate voluntarily, if thoroughly persuaded that their condition in life would be incalculably benefited by the change. Does not a slave frequently abscond from his master, in spite of all the risks attending such a step; and why should not a native of Africa desire to quit his bondage at home, and become a happy freeman in a British colony?—The case of the slave and the supposed emigrant are not parallel cases.

245. In one respect, certainly, the cases are not parallel, as the runaway slave incurs tremendous risks by endeavouring to escape from bondage, whilst the supposed emigrant would incur none by quitting Africa with the consent of his chief; but are they not both slaves in the first instance, and so far, in the most material point, placed in similar circumstances?—I must admit that in places where slaves are purchased the cases are parallel; but I have the strongest objection to such a proceeding.

246. You have admitted the supposed emigrants to be at present in a state of slavery, that they would immediately gain their freedom, and be carried to a colony which holds out even to the free man of Sierra Leone the greatest inducements for the improvement of his condition; what, then, would be your particular objection to such a mode of proceeding?—I think that a nation which has made such great sacrifices for the abolition of slavery should not tolerate any

proceeding which bears the slightest or most distant appearance of slave-dealing.

247. The Committee consent to admit that this may so far wear the appearance of slave-dealing, inasmuch as a slave may be said to be sold when his chief gives up his power to retain him in slavery for a money consideration; but no slave would be purchased, as his freedom would immediately follow. You are well aware that when Europeans were captured and enslaved by Barbary corsairs, their friends and countrymen frequently purchased their freedom from the African chief by whom they were held in possession. Would you press your last objection so far as to say that this was an improper mode of proceeding, as wearing the appearance of slave-dealing; and if not, in what respect would the proceeding first alluded to by the Committee differ from it?—I certainly cannot say that it was an improper mode of proceeding to purchase European captives out of slavery; and, as an abstract question, I cannot say that a difference in colour can make any difference in the mode of proceeding; but, after reflecting further upon the nature of the question put to me, I beg to say that I am of opinion that if enslaved Africans can be made to comprehend and appreciate the advantages of their removal to the West Indies, it would be quite immaterial whether the consent of their chiefs was purchased by treaty, presents, or any other consideration; but these unfortunate beings are so degraded and so low in the scale of intelligence, to judge from those landed in Sierra Leone, that it would be hopeless to look for any such conviction, not to mention the mischief which would result from setting such an example to foreign nations.

248. The question, as originally put by the Committee, presupposes that these Africans would be made to comprehend the advantages they would gain by a removal from Africa, and would embark voluntarily?—In this case, I can see no objection, but I do not think they would be made to comprehend it.

249. Do you then consider the intellectual condition of the natives of Africa to be so low that they cannot be made to comprehend the difference between the comforts and discomforts of this life, between slavery and freedom—an opinion which the Committee would never have formed, judging by their own experience of the thousand liberated Africans landed in this island five years ago, who appear to be as acute and intelligent with respect to their personal interests as any labourers in the island; and are you also of opinion that the African recruits, who enter every year into our West Indian regiments, are not made to understand beforehand that by enlisting they will at least improve their condition; do you really believe that they are not made to comprehend this, and that they do not, in fact, volunteer into the service?—I do not think they have any opinion about it, but are passively guided by their countrymen, who are the recruiting serjeants; but, upon reflection, I am disposed to confine my objection to what I before stated, as to the mischief which might result from setting such an example.

250. What is the nature of the mischief which you apprehend might result?—I think that foreigners might pretend to follow our example and embark a number of Africans as emigrants for the Brazils and Cuba, and make slaves of them on arrival.

251. Certainly our cruisers could not stop foreign vessels carrying Africans under the same regulations as our immigrant ships; but do

you think it will be safe for the slave-dealers to transport them in that unguarded mode, when it becomes known to the natives that they are to be ultimately sold into slavery ; or do you think they can afford to carry them as cheaply under such regulations as they do at present ?—I do not apprehend that these considerations would be sufficient to deter them, and the objection still continues that they would be enslaved on landing.

252. You are no doubt aware that Sir Thomas Buxton estimates that one-fourth at least of the slaves now embarked on the coast of Africa perish in the middle passage, and that of the remainder, one-fifth die afterwards on shore from the misery they have endured by being crammed almost to suffocation in the holds of the ships during the voyage. Now, even admitting what you have asserted, that foreigners would immediately follow our example, and convey their slaves as emigrants, would not the avoidance of the horrors of the middle passage, and the saving of thousands of lives, prove, instead of a mischief, a great gain to humanity ?—I admit it would be an advantage on the score of humanity, but still deprecate the proceeding as a continuance of the slave trade.

253. But if it could be proved to your satisfaction that this would be the quickest and most efficacious mode of putting an end to the slave-trade, would your objections to the proceeding still continue ?—If such a thing could be proved, certainly not.

254. Do you entertain any doubt, from what you have observed since your arrival, of the correctness of the opinion of the inhabitants of this colony, that our soil is as fertile as that of the Brazils or Cuba, or of any other part of the world ?—I admit that it appears extremely fertile, and I am not disposed to doubt the opinion of those best capable of judging, although I cannot answer the question from my own experience.

255. What do you consider would be the expense of removing an African to this colony under our immigration ordinance, including the purchase of the consent of his chief to his departure ?—Presuming that his consent to make him a free man could not be purchased for less than the sum he now obtains for disposing of him as a slave, this would amount to the thirty dollars, which, added to thirty for his passage, would make sixty dollars, the whole cost of bringing a labourer to this colony.

256. Can you state to the Committee the amount paid by a planter in the Brazils or Cuba for the purchase of an African slave ?—Sir Thomas Buxton's work states that a slave sells in Cuba for 350 dollars.

257. But to this sum of 350 dollars must you not add the twenty per cent. which is stated in the same work to be the lowest estimate of the loss in seasoning, making the real cost to the planter 420 dollars ?—Certainly this must be added.

258. Taking it then for granted that our soils are of equal fertility, do you imagine that the planter of Cuba or Brazil could compete with the planter in Trinidad in the cultivation of sugar, when the former is obliged to pay 420 dollars for a labourer, whom we could procure for sixty dollars, without adverting to the great additional cost of keeping up a slave population by large annual supplies, whilst our free population would not only support itself, but be augmented by a natural increase ?—Supposing your soil to be equally fertile with theirs, the advantage would no doubt be greatly on your side.

259. If then we could raise sugar cheaper than the planters of these colonies, and had ready access to the same supply of labour, should

we not speedily drive them out of every sugar market?—The conclusion is, I think, a natural consequence.

260. Do you believe that they would continue to import slaves from Africa when they ceased to make a profit by it?—Certainly not.

261. The slave trade would then be totally extinguished, would it not?—The slave trade would certainly be abolished; but the very discussion involves a revolting discussion regarding human flesh.

262. In deciding upon the merits of any proceeding, do you judge of it by the language held and the tone used in its discussion, or by the nature of the ultimate results it is intended to produce?—No results, however desirable, can be justified if arrived at by the sacrifice of feelings which should be cherished by human nature.

263. The Committee cannot understand how your answer applies to the discussion which this examination has led to. It appears by your own admission that the only practical changes which the plan supposed, of purchasing the consent of the African chieftains to the emigration of their native subjects, would lead to would be the avoidance of the horrors of the middle passage in the first instance, and the early abolition of the slave trade afterwards. Can you, on reflection, discover any sacrifice of feeling to be cherished by human nature which would be required under such circumstances?—I am ready to admit that my objections may partake more of sentiment than of reason, but I cannot give any other reply to the Committee.

264. Is it your intention to remain any time in this colony?—It was my original intention to have remained here some time, in order to judge of the condition and prospects of the emigrants I brought over, and of the desirableness or otherwise of recommending a further emigration; but I already find that the people are so well off, that I can be of no service to them; and being fully convinced of the great advantages which the people of Sierra Leone will derive from removing to Trinidad, it is my intention to proceed immediately to recommend the same in London.

265. Is there any other matter upon which you wish to inform the Committee?—I am not aware of any thing else I wish to say.

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WEDNESDAY, 26th MAY, 1841.

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*Port of Spain.*

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The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

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*Richard S. Darling, Esq.*, again called in, and examined.

266. In a former answer you stated that our native labourers were more steady and more to be depended upon than the immigrants; the Committee have been told by clergymen of the Established Church that they find the labourers from the old islands more moral and better behaved than our natives; how do you account for this difference of opinion?—I do not agree with them in opinion, and only attribute it to their congregations, consisting in a great degree of immigrants from the old islands, whilst our native labourers are prin-



cipally Catholics. If I am to judge of their morality by their honesty and steadiness to their engagements, I can certainly give them no preference to the latter.

267. As some of the estates under your administration are in Tacarigua and some in Naparima, can you explain why carting produce on the Sunday is more prevalent in the latter district than in the former?—It arises from the difference in the soil, and the materials of which the roads are made. In Naparima they are rendered impassable by a very small quantity of rain, rendering it imperative to get the crop shipped before the heavy rains set in, which is not the case in Tacarigua.

268. When a labourer applies to you for employment, do you ever inquire into his moral character, or his reasons for quitting his former service?—Not unless it is to fill some confidential employment, such as overlooker. Ordinary labourers are too much in demand to allow us to scrutinize their character.

269. Have you a general acquaintance with other sugar colonies besides Trinidad?—Very slight.

270. Can you give any opinion as to the fertility of our soil compared with that of Cuba or the Brazils?—I have never been in those places, but I know what our soil is capable of producing; and, judging of the results, I am of opinion that there is no soil in any part of the world equal to the black sugar soil of South Naparima.

271. Have you made or seen any calculations as to the quantity of sugar which can be produced annually by the labour of one man on that soil?—I have made the calculation, and am certain that a steady labourer can cultivate a sufficiency of land to make annually from fifteen to twenty hogsheads; an extra number of labourers would be required to take off the crop.

272. Can you name the estates on which any such results have been produced?—On the St. Charles and Tarouba estates, during a period of slavery. Their aggregate crops in 1836 exceeded 500 hogsheads, although the strength of both gangs did not exceed eighty-five; additional hands to the extent of thirty were employed in cutting canes during the crop.

273. But this would only give an average of six hogsheads to each individual, instead of fifteen to twenty, as before stated?—In that calculation I alluded only to what could be done by a single able-bodied man, devoting the whole of his labouring hours to the cultivation of the cane. Of course, in a gang of slaves the greater number cannot be equally efficient; and many of them are necessarily employed in the care of the stock, making roads and fences, and the various other employments required on a sugar estate.

274. What, then, is the average amount of sugar you would expect from a free population established on an estate?—If they were compelled by necessity to work as regularly as labourers in most parts of Europe, I should expect a larger result than during slavery, when a man was only obliged to perform a small task. At that time the average was six hogsheads per head; but I am satisfied that, with fair, regular and continuous labour, it might be brought to ten.

275. Are you supposing that the females are to work as steadily as in a period of slavery, and would you calculate upon this as a probable result?—I find in general that the women work much more steadily now than I expected, and I am not disposed to make any material deduction on that account. But I beg to explain that in the numbers given as composing the gangs of the St. Charles and Tarouba estates,

all the children under six years of age were excluded, as by the Act of Emancipation, passed in 1834, they formed no part of the gang; but if the question refers to what might be expected from an agricultural population settled in South Naparima, including all ages and conditions, I should not be disposed to rate the average higher than three to four hogsheads per head.

276. Do you believe, then, that our export of sugar could be increased 30,000 hogsheads annually by the introduction of only 10,000 African labourers?—Certainly; a force to that extent would be fully adequate to an increased crop of 30,000 hogsheads, after the lapse of a sufficient time.

277. Have you any calculation by you of the quantity of land in the island capable of cultivation?—I have now in my possession a statement which I received from Mr. Basanta, the late surveyor-general, on whose information I had the greatest reliance, which gives the following results:

	Acres.
The surface of the island, as calculated by Captain Columbine in his survey in 1803, amounts to 2,400 square miles, or	- 1,536,000
Of which Mr. Basanta considered that four fifths were fit for cultivation, or	- 1,228,800
And two-thirds fit for the cultivation of sugar, or	- 1,204,000

278. With respect to locality and accessibility, do you think that any serious difficulties would oppose the bringing of this million of acres into cultivation?—Very little of the interior is known except to surveyors and a few enterprising individuals, but from an inspection of the map, no part is more distant from the sea-board than twenty miles; and from what is easily to be seen from the heights, and by observing the course of the rivers, I think there would be no serious difficulty to the formation of good roads, if sufficient labour, skill and capital were applied to their construction.

279. But do you not find that in proportion to the fertility of the soil is the difficulty of making roads in this colony, which is the reason that the cultivation of sugar has extended fourteen miles into the interior on the northern districts of the island, whilst in the deep, rich soil of South Naparima, where the returns are so much greater, the cultivation has not extended beyond five or six miles; and would not the making of twenty miles of road in the latter district present an insuperable difficulty?—Twenty miles of an ordinary road in that district could never be effected, as no material for macadamising is to be found; but there would be no difficulty in forming a railroad on the American plan, as the interior is full of the finest description of durable woods.

280. Are you in possession of any calculation showing the expense of such an undertaking?—I have the plan of an American railroad, composed of sleepers and runners of wood, covered with longitudinal flat iron rails; the whole constructed in the simplest and cheapest mode possible. I have made an estimate of the cost in this country, substituting our hardwood for American timber, and I make the cost of laying down the same upon a level about 5,000 dollars per mile.

281. But this does not include the cuttings and fillings up of earth to form a level?—Certainly not, and I am quite unable to form any such estimate.

282. But, supposing the cost amounted to 30,000 dollars per mile (which, considering that the whole of the land required could be pro-

cured without purchase, and every other material, with the exception of the iron, found on the spot, is probably not too low an estimate). would it not be cheaper for an individual commencing a new sugar estate in those districts to pay one-fourth of that amount (which would be his proportion if he had half a mile of frontage to his estate, and the road constituted a boundary between opposite properties), rather than proceed on the present ruinous plan, so destructive to animal life, of conveying his produce over roads at most times bad, and above half the year impassable for carts?—It certainly would for any estate situated above two miles in the interior; but without more capital, enterprise and science than this colony now possesses, we can hardly hope to see such a work executed.

283. But if it holds out a prospect of great profit to all parties, do you see any difficulty in such a work being executed, either by the colonial government, or by a company of capitalists in Great Britain?—Look at the map, and suppose the best natural level to be followed into the interior from the sea-board, no matter where it may lead; or take, for instance, that extensive natural basin which is drained through the Lagoon of Siparia, to the west, into the Gulf of Paria, and by the waters of the Ortoire, to the eastward, into the Atlantic Ocean, which is forty miles in length, and ten to fifteen in breadth, consisting of the richest soil in the colony, would not the lands situated on each side of a railroad running directly through it be bought up with avidity at a price which would soon pay the whole expenses of the undertaking?—It certainly would, provided we are furnished with a sufficient number of labourers to bring those lands into cultivation, which, from my own experience and the best information I have received, are amongst the richest in the colony.

284. You are of opinion, then, that the lands of South Naparima, which are included in that basin, are amongst the richest in the island?—They are the richest and best for the cultivation of sugar of any land we have at present in cultivation.

285. With a sufficiency of labour and proper cultivation, how much sugar do you estimate they will produce per acre?—I consider that 5,000 pounds per acre is not an uncommon return for good soil in South Naparima, without manure, and only two weedings.

286. For what length of time will the lands yield without replanting?—Cane-pieces have been pointed out to me which have been forty years in cultivation, and are still perfectly good; but the greater part of the South Naparima estates have been settled within the last twenty years.

287. But have they not been frequently replanted during that period?—I understand not; and from what I have observed they never require replanting, unless ruined by the trespass of stock, or other neglect.

288. From the richness, then, and extent of our sugar soil, do you believe that this island is capable of furnishing a sufficiency of sugar for the consumption of Great Britain?—I believe that it is capable of doing much more, and as cheaply as in any other part of the world, provided we are furnished with labour on equal terms.

289. You have, in your former examination, informed the Committee as to the rates of wages originally fixed after emancipation, please to state the present actual rates?—At present the rate paid in South Naparima since the commencement of crop for weeding is fifty cents (2s. 2d. sterling) per task, but we hope to get it down to

forty cents again, after crop is over, which was the rate we paid before.

290. How many tasks can a labourer perform per day, with only fair and reasonable exertion?—Two tasks per day are frequently, though not steadily, performed with ease. Three tasks are very generally performed by the Americans, not because they are more able, but are more anxious to amass money.

291. What allowances are given in addition to the fifty cents per task for weeding?—Half a pound of cod-fish, and one or two glasses of rum per task.

292. Do they get a house and grounds also free of all charge?—Yes; and medicine and medical attendance in Naparima are generally given, although it is not the case in Tacarigua.

293. What do you estimate the value of these allowances to be?—The fish and rum are worth ten cents (*5d.* sterling) per task; the house, ground and medical attendance may be fairly calculated at not less than one dollar per week.

294. Then you consider that an ordinary labourer can every day, if he pleases, by performing two tasks of weeding, earn one dollar and twenty cents (*5s.* sterling) without adverting to the value of the house, grounds and medical attendance?—He can do so very easily.

295. Please to inform the Committee as to the rate of wages in crop season?—For ordinary labour about the mill and boiling-house fifty to sixty cents (*2s. 6d.* sterling), with an increase of allowance in the shape of pork, flour and biscuit, which are given to the people employed in the following proportions: two biscuits per day to the boiler-men, firemen, magoss and cane-carriers, carters and crook-boys, with two pounds of pork and two quarts of flour to the head men per week.

296. At how much do you estimate the value of these allowances?—The value of the whole, including fish and rum, is not less than twenty cents (*10d.* sterling) per day.

297. It seems, then, that in crop season it is difficult to earn in the manufactory more than eighty cents (*3s. 4d.* sterling) per day, whilst the field labourers can earn one dollar and twenty cents (*5s.* sterling). What is the cause of a difference which prevails in no other part of the world where agricultural labourers are paid higher for harvest work than any other?—It is, upon the whole, lighter and more agreeable work than field labour; and, as many of the town-people and hucksters are at that season candidates for the employment, we have a greater competition than for field labour; but on account of this difference in wages, many of the best labourers are very unwilling to take their turn about the works.

298. Do you find that wages for the same description of labour vary much in different districts?—A great deal.

299. To what cause do you ascribe it?—To some districts being more unpopular, as being more distant from town, or other trivial and accidental causes; for in all cases wages are so high, and it is so easy to obtain more than a man's wants require, that labourers are not induced by an increase of wages to change their favourite residence.

300. Upon what sum do you think a labourer can live comfortably and creditably for a week in this colony?—It is difficult to get the native labourers to state how they live; but from strangers I have ascertained that twenty to thirty cents (*15d.* sterling) for farinaceous

food, in addition to their allowance of fish, will support them comfortably for a week.

301. At that rate, then, it is not difficult for an ordinary labourer in this colony to lay by twenty dollars (4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* sterling) a month?—They can do it, certainly, if they please.

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WEDNESDAY, 16th JUNE 1841.

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*Orange Grove Estate, District of Tacarigua.*

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The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

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*Joseph Anthony Guiseppi, Esq.*, called in, and examined.

302. THE COMMITTEE understand that you are stipendiary magistrate for the district of St. Joseph's. Pray what is the extent of the district in which you act?—The St. Joseph's district consists of the quarters of Cimaronero, Aricagua, St. Joseph's, and the valleys of Santa Cruz and Maraccas; and, since the death of Captain Gray, my jurisdiction has been extended over the district of Tacarigua, which comprises the quarters of Tacarigua, Arouca, Arima, Guanapo, Aripo and Caroni, with the valley of Caura and the settlement of disbanded soldiers as far to the westward as La Cèiva.

303. What do you compute to be the whole distance in miles from one extremity to the other of the districts under your charge?—From east to west the road is in a direct line nearly thirty miles; but taking in addition the different lines of road from north to south, leading to the various places where I may be called on officially to act, it is necessary to add sixty-three miles more.

304. Are the roads good and passable for carriages throughout these distances, and are all the rivers well bridged over?—The roads are good at present, and fit for carriages on the line to the eastward as far as Aripo; but with the exception of the valleys of Santa Cruz and Maraccas, all the north and south lines consist only of bridle-roads; and there are no bridges over the rivers.

305. Are they not liable to frequent and heavy floods in the rainy season, by which travellers are subjected to much risk and detention?—They are liable to be detained occasionally two or three hours on the banks of a river.

306. How long have you acted as stipendiary justice?—From the first establishment of the rural police in August 1838.

307. Have you any assistant justice to relieve you occasionally in the performance of your duties?—I am the only stipendiary justice, but there are three justices of the peace selected from amongst the proprietors in the district of Tacarigua, and two in that of St. Joseph's.

308. Can these justices of the peace act independently of yourself?—In some cases, such as the holding of inquests, preserving the peace, and partially under the road ordinance; but no courts, either civil or criminal, can be held without my presence.

309. Do any other duties devolve upon you but those enumerated under the Rural Police Act?—I have certain duties to perform under the road ordinance.

310. Have you not the Crown lands under your charge?—They are not under my charge; any trespass on the Crown lands can be tried and dealt with in my court upon information being first laid before me.

311. Under whose charge are the Crown lands in your district placed?—I should think the surveyor-general.

312. You could not, then, legally and officially interfere to prevent any invasion of the Crown lands before regular information being lodged against the party trespassing?—No; the information must be first laid by one of the road commissioners.

313. Have any informations been laid before you in this matter?—Not one; and I do not believe there is much trespassing on the Crown lands in the district of St. Joseph's.

314. Pray what is the amount of the population in the two districts under your charge?—I cannot say, and I do not believe that any census has been published since I have acted as stipendiary magistrate.

315. Has nothing, then, been done under the ordinance of November 1839, in which returns of the population are directed to be made annually to the stipendiary magistrate?—The returns which were made to me in December 1839 and November 1840, I remitted, as directed by the ordinance, to the commissary of population, and have not heard of them since.

316. Do you not know, then, from those returns the amount of the population in your districts?—I forwarded them immediately to the commissary of population; but I am convinced that those returns did not give a true statement of the actual population, as the planters only returned the labourers settled upon their estates, when probably double that number were working with them in a precarious and occasional way.

317. Can you, then, form no guess of the population in the two districts?—I cannot; particularly in that of Tacarigua, where so many immigrants have lately established themselves.

318. How many police stations are there?—Four. One in the town of St. Joseph's, one in the valley of Santa Cruz, the third in Arouca, and the fourth in the village of Arima.

319. How often do you hold your courts at these stations?—On Mondays and Fridays at St. Joseph's, on Tuesdays in the valley of Santa Cruz, on Wednesdays in Arouca, and on Thursdays at Arima.

320. Are the causes brought before you numerous?—The petty civil actions are numerous. Some cases of assault, but rarely of a nature so serious as to require to be sent before the Court of Criminal Prosecutions; in fact only one of that description has occurred since my first appointment. I am now speaking of the district of St. Joseph's, having only been recently appointed to that of Tacarigua.

321. Do you think that this arises from the general good conduct and orderly behaviour of the labourers, or from a disinclination on the part of the inhabitants to go before the court?—In the district of St. Joseph's, I think it results from more orderly conduct amongst the labourers; immediately after my appointment they were very riotous and disorderly, and many cases of assault occurred, although not so serious as to require to be sent before the Court of Criminal Prosecutions; the culprits were heavily fined, that is, within the limits of forty dollars, which, I think, has had the effect of preventing their subsequent recurrence.

322. Are you authorized to inflict both fine and imprisonment for offences?—Imprisonment only in default of payment of fine.

323. What proportion of offenders amongst the labouring population is committed to gaol in default of means of payment?—Not one in ten.

324. Are the cases of petty theft brought before you numerous?—None are brought before me, because our gaols furnish no proper accommodation for prisoners before trial; and these cases are all sent for trial to Port of Spain, before the Court of Criminal Prosecutions.

325. In all cases, then, of petty theft, even for a bunch of plantains, in the most distant parts of your districts, are all parties, principals and witnesses, compelled to attend, in spite of rivers, floods and expenses, in Port of Spain, before justice can be invoked or redress obtained?—Yes.

326. Are you not of opinion that this serious inconvenience must frequently deter parties from prosecuting, and that offenders go consequently unpunished?—I think it does.

327. The subjects you have mentioned as coming before you appear, then, only to involve cases of debt and assault and disturbance of the peace, but under the ordinance for the enforcement of contracts of service between employers and labourers, the exclusive jurisdiction in these matters is given to your tribunal; are these cases numerous?—They are very rare; in fact, my duty in this respect has been principally confined to explaining to the labourers their duties.

328. Have you had any complaints against employers on any other score?—No suit has ever been brought in my court by a labourer against an employer. Complaints have occasionally been made to me unofficially, which, after a proper representation to the proprietor, were amicably settled between the parties.

329. Do you believe the proprietors possess directly or indirectly any power, influence or means of preventing cases of injustice towards labourers from being brought before you?—I do not think they possess any; the labourers know that they are independent, are well aware of their rights, and how they can procure redress.

330. You believe, then, that real, solid and substantial justice and protection of their rights is afforded to all the labouring class in the district under your charge?—I am certain of it.

331. What is the strength of your police force in the two districts?—There are six policemen at present in the St. Joseph's district, with two chief constables; and in Tacarigua there are only three policemen and two constables.

332. Is this the full force allowed under the Act?—The police force in St. Joseph's should be seven policemen, and I believe the same number in Tacarigua.

333. Do you consider this force adequate to the services they have to perform?—In St. Joseph's I have hitherto found it sufficient.

334. But you are well aware that since the first establishment of this force, the condition of the labouring classes has been most prosperous; employment has existed to an unlimited extent; wages have been continually rising; and the facility and regularity with which you admit heavy fines have been paid in your court show that the labourers are in no want of pecuniary means; but reverse this position, and suppose a fall in wages arising from a depreciation in the value of our staple exports, do you think your police force is strong enough to repress any turbulent or riotous disposition, if it existed?—The policemen might not be sufficient, but in such case the special constables would be brought in to their aid.

335. Are the special constables sufficiently numerous, and so orga-

nized, that you could on a sudden emergency prevent a butcher's or baker's shop from being pillaged?—At the present moment I could not; but before the reverse you describe takes place, a sufficient number of special constables could be appointed to prevent any act of riot.

336. From what class of persons are your special constables to be selected?—From tradesmen and headmen on estates.

337. And do you think this class of persons could be depended upon?—I would place the greatest reliance upon them.

338. Are your policemen stout and athletic, fully competent to the duties they have to perform; are they picked men as to their physical strength?—They are not picked men, for we are obliged to get the best we can; the service is not popular, and the best men will not engage in it; they do not like to be ordered about.

339. Please to read the 18th, 19th and 20th clauses in the Rural Police Act, and say whether you think your police force is fully able to perform the whole of the duties which devolve upon them under these clauses?—I do not think that these duties are very faithfully performed, as my force is not sufficient for a regular patrol of the roads, and the policemen have no inclination to perform that duty voluntarily.

340. Is it part of your official duty to make yourself generally acquainted with the proceedings and transactions between employers and labourers, beyond what may come officially before you in your courts?—I do not consider that it is.

341. You are no doubt aware that in the Island of Jamaica the stipendiary magistrates have for a long period made regular returns to the Governor respecting rates of wages, mode and amount of labour, occupation of houses and grounds, treatment of labourers by proprietors, and generally all subjects connected with the working of the free labour system. Has it been part of your duty hitherto to make similar returns to the Governor here?—Hitherto such returns have never been required of me, but I have lately been furnished with a blank form from Government-house, directing me to give answer every six months to many of the subjects you have alluded to, beginning at the 30th of this month.

342. When was this blank form first sent to you?—I received it only this morning.

343. The Committee observe that simultaneously with the appointment of the stipendiary magistrates, the commandantships of quarters were annulled; have all the duties and functions, not directly connected with the institutions of slavery, performed by those officers, since devolved upon the stipendiary magistrates?—Their powers were much more extensive than ours, and every thing relating to the roads devolves now upon the road commissioners.

344. But there was one very material and necessary control given to the commandants of quarters over the very dangerous proceeding of burning off the bush upon land intended to be put into cultivation; this is certainly a necessary agricultural operation in this island, but, unless performed with due caution, may be productive of the greatest mischief and incalculable loss. Are planters now obliged to obtain from you the necessary permission which in such cases they formerly procured from the commandants; and is it part of your duty to see that the traces required to be cut around the work for the protection of the neighbourhood are carefully and faithfully performed?—It forms no part of my duty under the Rural Police Act.



345. Can any person, then, at his own will and pleasure put fire to any part of his estate, without regard to the alarming risk which his neighbours, and in fact the whole country to leeward of him, incur?—I know of no ordinance to prevent him.

346. How many gaols are there in the districts under your charge? There is one gaol in St. Joseph, one in Arima, and a lock-up house in Arima.

347. Are they sufficiently secure for the confinement of culprits?—I think they are.

348. Although few cases between labourers and employers are brought before you, you have no doubt good means of judging of the industry of the labouring classes?—Generally I have many opportunities of judging of the conduct and proceedings of labourers.

349. What is your opinion of their industry and modes of working as compared to labourers in Europe?—I have generally observed that labourers in Europe work from sunrise to sunset: here, with a few exceptions, field-work is over before twelve o'clock, and frequently by ten.

350. Do you ascribe this slack work to inability of exertion?—No; I ascribe it to their having earned by that time as much as they desire. They have then earned fifty cents (2s. 1d. sterling), besides half a pound of salt-fish and an allowance of rum.

351. What is your opinion of the present practice of giving rum to the labourers, judging from the nature of the cases which come before you in the shape of assaults and batteries?—I think it a very bad practice, and the great majority of such cases which comes before me result from drunken quarrels. The mischief is increasing every day; it is now becoming more prevalent than formerly amongst the women, and if the practice is continued for two or three years longer, it will demoralize the whole labouring population; and I have observed that the vice of gambling is increasing also every day. I thought it my duty to take the advice of the Attorney-general on the subject, who informed me that I could not interfere with it in private houses, although from the nature of our climate and construction of the houses, with all the doors and windows open, it is quite as public as in the streets. You can hear the dollars clinking and see the parties playing as you pass along, and this occurs more frequently on the Sunday than on any other day.

352. Are you the owner of a sugar estate, or interested in any agricultural property?—I own no sugar estate, and am interested in no other property.

353. Do you find that competition amongst the proprietors to procure labourers is as great as it was immediately after emancipation?—I do not think that it is in the St. Joseph's district. Some of the planters there have recently told me that they get as many labourers as they require.

354. Wages, you know, have been gradually rising throughout the colony since emancipation; have you heard whether this increased stock of labour has tended to reduce wages in the St. Joseph's district?—I have not heard that labour has sufficiently increased to reduce the high price of labour.

355. The Committee understand that you are acquainted with affairs on the adjoining continent in the republic of Venezuela, and wish to know whether any supplies of labour are received from that quarter?—Yes, to a considerable extent in crop-time; but the labourers do not remain in the colony.

356. What is the present rate of wages in that country?—In

the interior very low, not exceeding five dollars a month, with food ; but as you approach Trinidad, wages rise, and are so high as thirty-five to forty cents per day (1 s. 8 d. sterling) on the shores of the gulf.

357. But for what description of day's labour ; does it conclude as with us, before twelve o'clock in the morning ?—The labourers there generally work eight hours, which is double the time taken in performing a task here.

358. As wages, then, are so much higher, and labour so much easier with us, are you of opinion that the immigration from the Spanish Main is likely to increase ?—It is increasing every year.

359. The Committee have been told that many families of Spanish labourers and peons are now settled high up the Caroni river ; are these peons and others in similar remote places well known to the colonial authorities ?—A return of all persons occupying land has been required by Government, and I presume it has been received from these parties as well as others.

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SATURDAY, 19th JUNE, 1841.

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*Port of Spain.*

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The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

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*Samuel J. Prescod, Esq., called in, and examined.*

360. THE Committee understand that you are a native of Barbados, and have recently arrived from that island ; have you any practical acquaintance with agricultural affairs ?—I have never been directly interested in agriculture, but from my long residence in that island, I have some general idea of the state of agricultural affairs.

361. Do you know the rates of wages in Barbados for agricultural labourers ?—I do.

362. At what rate were they fixed immediately after emancipation ?—At two bits, or 10 d. sterling, per day, with house and grounds free of rent.

363. Has that rate varied since emancipation ?—The planters continue to pay the same rate to those who reside on their estates, and take the benefit of the house and grounds, but other labourers not possessing these advantages receive two and a half to three bits (1 s. 3 d.).

364. Are there no allowances given besides, of provisions or rum ?—No provisions of any kind ; but what is termed "beverage," or "diversion," being a mixture of molasses and water and rum, is generally given to the labourers in the field, and particularly in wet weather.

365. You do not, then, complain of any excess in the distribution of rum to the labourers by the planters in Barbados ?—No ; and they consider themselves entitled by right to nothing but their wages.

366. You are no doubt aware that this injurious practice is at present exciting much attention and alarm amongst proprietors in this island ; to what cause do you ascribe so marked a difference in the

proceedings of the two colonies?—I have not given the subject sufficient attention to enable me to answer it satisfactorily.

367. How much time have you spent in this colony?—This is my second visit; I spent one month here last year, and have now been here a fortnight.

368. You have then had some opportunity of seeing the country, and of forming an idea of the state of our agriculture?—My knowledge has been principally derived from the planters I have met with in Naparima, San Joseph's and Tacarigua.

369. Have you seen enough to enable you to judge of our cultivation, and the fertility of the soil?—I think I have. The fertility of the island, as compared to that of Barbados, is apparent to the most superficial observer; and I have collected from the observations of two intelligent labourers, sent over by me this year, quite sufficient to confirm my opinions on this subject.

370. Are you of opinion that the men you allude to were sufficiently well informed to enable them to form a correct judgment?—They were both headmen, perfectly conversant in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar, and one of them, in consequence of his abilities, has since procured the situation of under-manager in this island.

371. What opinion has he expressed as to the comparative state of our soil and cultivation?—He has expressed the highest opinion of the fertility of the soil in this island, and says that with proper attention the sugar can be made equal to that of Barbados, and "plenty of it;" but that the cultivation and manufacturing processes are most dirty and slovenly; and this is so apparent that it struck me on my first visit, and must be evident to the most superficial observer.

372. You are then decidedly of opinion that by improved labour and improved processes the land at present in cultivation in this island can be made to produce infinitely more than it now does, and the sugar of a superior quality?—I have no doubt of it from what I have seen, and from what I have heard from others better informed on the subject.

373. Independently, then, of the great difference in wages between Trinidad and Barbados, must not a labourer here have much greater advantages in the fertility of the soil allotted to him for his garden?—His labour ought certainly to be more productive here, but I cannot help thinking that the great quantity of land furnished to them gratuitously induces a careless and imperfect cultivation, which in the end is probably not so lucrative to them as in Barbados.

374. You think, then, that if they were more restricted in the quantity of land given to them, they would reap greater benefit from it?—I do most decidedly.

375. The Committee have been given to understand that you think Barbados could spare a large proportion of her labouring population with great advantage to herself?—I am of that opinion, and think that 15,000 or 20,000 persons, taken in families, might be advantageously spared in that island.

376. Would not the abstraction of such a number immediately raise the rates of wages?—It would have that effect, and that would be one of the benefits I should anticipate from the measure, as I consider the present rates to be inadequate to the comfortable subsistence of the labouring population, which must ultimately lead to the establishment of poor-rates, and fall heavier upon the proprietors than any probable increase in the rate of wages.

377. You do not think, then, that the value of estates would fall in Barbados, in the event of wages rising?—Possibly it might at the commencement, but the effect could only be temporary. The remaining population would then obtain full employment, would do the work of the whole, and receive the wages now paid to the whole; as regards the cost of cultivation, therefore, I do not think that it would be so increased as to affect the value of property. Besides, I understand from practical men that a large quantity of land in Barbados, unfit for the sugar-cane, is at present kept under cultivation in consequence of the low wages and high price of sugar; such land would be more beneficially employed in the raising of stock and provisions, and the labour now employed upon it transferred to the best soils.

378. Are difficulties still thrown in the way of the emigration of labourers from Barbados?—Not so many as last year; but very improper restrictions on this natural right are still continued, and at the present moment I believe it would be impossible for them to quit the colony, however advantageous such a step might be, but for the influence and protection of persons of a higher class to assist them. The law as it exists is practically enforced with greater severity towards labourers than others: an individual of the first class may leave the island without much inquiry as to the quality of his securities, whilst I have known many labourers required to find substantial freeholders, and were consequently unable to quit the island until the twenty-one days required by law had expired, when the vessel in which they intended to embark had departed.

379. Do the labourers in Barbados work by the day, or by task-work?—By the day. They are desirous of task-work, but the planters will not consent to it.

380. In this island a planter considers task-work as the most advantageous proceeding, for a labourer never exerts himself unless he works on his own account. Can you explain why a planter in Barbados adopts such a different course?—When I said the task-work was not allowed, I must explain that there is always a certain quantity of work expected from a labourer; but he is not allowed to get through it as soon as he can, which I attribute to the superabundance of labourers; for, if they were allowed to work as much as they pleased, there would not be sufficient employment for them, and the object of the planter is to find moderate daily employment for all who are settled upon his property.

381. If, then, a labourer has performed the amount of work expected from him early in the day, and the proprietor declines to furnish him with more, is he prevented from seeking it elsewhere?—He would not be allowed to finish his work off early. He would not be allowed to give up his work in less than nine hours, and must go on leisurely with the rest of the gang.

382. Do labourers then continue to work in line in the cane-fields, as was the custom in times of slavery?—The work is generally performed in the same way as it was then. Here, I am aware, a labourer works when he pleases, and is allowed to do as many tasks as he will, because you are in want of labour; whilst in Barbados it is the reverse, and the principal object of the planter there is to proportion out the employment equally to all applicants. In fact, the great grievance of the labouring population at present in Barbados is, that they are not allowed to do as much work as they can, and are compelled to take nine hours to do that which they can easily perform in five.

383. Have you had many opportunities of conversing with the Barbadian labourers who have emigrated to this island?—I have seen all who came from thence this year, and a few of those who arrived three years ago.

384. Are they satisfied with the step they have taken in coming to this colony?—Very much so. They speak very favourably of the island, and have only one objection to make, which is the deep state of the roads after a heavy rain. They all admit that their circumstances are greatly changed for the better. They make more money, and are able to save more. One man, with four children, has told me that his wife's labour alone maintained the family, and that he saved the whole of his wages; and this under the disadvantage of not having yet established their provision grounds, when the labourers generally feel satisfied that they will be able to save the greater part of their wages.

385. As they no doubt communicate these opinions to their friends in Barbados, do you think when the present obstacles to emigration are removed that many of them will be disposed to come here?—I think a great many will come; for Trinidad is decidedly more popular than Demerara. They consider this island more healthy, and the general aspect of the country more cheerful. Some of the labourers now here have been in Demerara, and gave me this opinion.

386. Can you point out any improvement or alteration in our present system, which may render our island more attractive to these labourers?—I think that if you can succeed in adopting the plan recommended by your own Agricultural Society, of paying the labourers wholly in money, and withdrawing all allowances, charging them only with a fair and reasonable rent for their cottages, and allowing them at the same time to work with whom they please, it would be equally beneficial to the labourer and the employer, and a great improvement, which could not fail to render the island greatly more attractive than at present, at least to the labouring population of Barbados.

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WEDNESDAY, 30th JUNE, 1841.

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*Port of Spain.*

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The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

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*Frederick Brown, Esq., called in, and examined.*

387. How long have you been resident in this colony?—A constant resident since February 1799.

388. What is your profession?—A land surveyor.

389. In the course of your business have you seen many parts of the island?—The greater part of the island.

390. Generally speaking, do you consider the land to be fertile?—Very.

391. Do you consider the hilly and mountainous parts to be fer-

tile as well as the low lands?—Generally speaking, they are so; in very few cases the reverse.

392. Where are the highest lands situate?—On the northern ridge, the highest of which is the peak of Maraccas, being 2,947 feet; but this is a particular peak; the general range does not exceed 1,800 feet, which is approached by a succession of lower ranges, forming valleys between, all well watered and containing excellent land.

393. Have you made many surveys on these heights?—I have surveyed a great number of estates in the heights of the valley of Caura, at the source of the Tacarigua river. The estate of Periere, which I consider to be 2,000 feet high, consists of the most fertile land, producing luxuriant cocoa, with every indication, from the nature of the vegetation, of the soil all around being of the same quality. I have been upon the heights of Diego Martin, Maraval, and La Ventille, where all the land is fertile, and well settled; and I am of opinion that the whole range on the northern side of the island consists of fertile land, and is capable of supporting a very large population.

394. Could sugar estates be established thereon?—Sugar-canes would grow there luxuriantly; but with the quantity of fertile land on the level plain below, no one would think of establishing a sugar estate above; but cocoa, coffee, cotton and provisions might be raised there in abundance.

395. What other mountainous ridges are there in the island?—There is a southern and a central range, but they cannot be called mountainous, they are only high hills; good roads could be easily traced throughout, and they consist of the most fertile land.

396. Do you consider the whole island generally to be capable of profitable cultivation?—Most profitable, with very trifling exceptions.

397. The Committee have been informed that the late surveyor-general, Basanta, estimated that one-fifth of the island was unfit for cultivation, which materially differs from your opinion in this respect?—I have seen that statement, and rather think that his assertion of four-fifths of the island only being fit for cultivation must have alluded to sugar cultivation, which could not be cultivated profitably on the heights, but where every other description of tropical produce could be easily raised. Mr. Basanta, although a most talented and excellent officer, was more at home in the official duties of his bureau than in the field, and had much fewer opportunities than myself of knowing practically the surface of the island. The only part of the island I am acquainted with, which is worthy of the name of sterile, is a small tract commencing to the westward of Arima, and extending on the line of road to the eastern settlements. It bears, however, the most superior hardwood timber, growing thick and close, which would try the temper of the best axe. But even in this district, on the banks of the Arima and the Oropouche rivers, some of the most fertile lands and best cocoa estates in the island are to be found. I am of opinion that we have little other land which can be called sterile. We are frequently apt to apply this term, from the extreme fertility of our lands, generally, to soils of inferior quality, which in other colonies would be considered good.

398. Is there much valuable timber in the colony?—An immense quantity of the best description of hardwood, the best qualities of which are to be found in the least fertile soils, as I have just stated. The muro, which grows from 80 to 100 feet high, is to be found in great

abundance, besides baliata, poui, roble, with enormous cedars, and various others.

399. You say that the best timber is to be found in the least fertile parts, but is it not also to be found in the fine sugar district of the Naparimas, and in the fertile lands of the extensive valley of the Caroni and Oropouche?—Yes, it is to be found in abundance all over the island of great size and beauty, but the hardest and most enduring are to be found as a matter of course in the least fertile soils, where its growth is not so rapid.

400. What is the cause of our using so much of the perishable timber of North America when we have so much of a better quality in the island?—It arises from the want of labour and population, and probably of capital and enterprise, but I should say principally from the great expense of taking it out before roads are formed.

401. Are there any very large grants of uncultivated land existing at present in the colony?—None that are large; in fact there are very few on which there is not some cultivation; but of these a more correct statement can be had in the surveyor-general's office.

402. There would be no difficulty, then, in making roads throughout the island from the intervention of large tracts of uncultivated land in the hands of private individuals?—None at all; the cultivation is generally on the shores of the gulf, or closely concentrated in the settled districts; the only difficulty in making roads arises from the fertility of the soil.

403. The cultivation you state to be generally on the shores of the gulf, but are there not some also on lines of road running into the interior perpendicular to the coast?—With the exception of those on the Tacarigua road, and on the two roads in North and South Naparima, the estates are generally situate on the shores of the gulf.

404. Which is the largest of these lines of road, and were they generally well traced originally?—The largest extent of cart-road is on the first as far as Aripo, about nineteen miles; the North Naparima road may be fourteen miles to the New Grant estate; that of South Naparima is not more than seven or eight miles; and with the exception of the North Naparima road, which runs along an extraordinary natural ridge, the others were badly traced originally, and have in a great degree been obliged to be changed since.

405. Has your attention ever been directed to the practicability of forming railroads in this colony?—It has; and I am as satisfied as a man can be who has not made the actual survey, that two main lines may be established, each of them traversing the island and connecting the eastern and western coasts. The whole valley formed by the southern range of hills on one side, and by the Montserrat and Tamana hills to the north, which is drained by the river Ortoire to the eastward, and the streams which flow into the Lagoon of Siperia on the west, including the district of the two Naparimas, and a tract of country apparently as fertile throughout, of forty miles in length, and of considerable breadth, would form one line, and might I think be easily traversed by a railroad. Of the level nature of the country, with the exception of undulations generally of the same height, there can be no doubt, from the circumstance of the tide flowing up the Ortoire for a considerable distance, which is a well-ascertained fact, although I have not myself been upon the spot to vouch for it. The Lagoon of Siperia runs also a considerable distance into the interior, showing the same description of land on its margin; and the

head waters of both these natural levels take their rise near each other in the centre of the island. There is also another valley of similar extent and dimensions running parallel to it, twenty miles distance to the north, lying between the Montserrat and Tamana hills, and the northern ridge, which is drained east and west by the rivers Oro-pouche and Caroni. Of the facility of carrying a rail-road through the whole length of this valley there can be no doubt, as Colonel Rutherford, of the Royal Artillery, surveyed the ground in 1803 and 1804, and recommended the formation of a canal to connect the eastern and western coast in this part of the island. The whole of the plans and documents relating to this subject are to be found in the surveyor-general's office.

406. Are you of opinion, looking to efficiency and economy, that a railroad through both these valleys would be preferable to a canal or a macadamized road?—Should the introduction of a sufficient labouring population in this colony ever render it necessary to open up these fertile valleys for cultivation, there can be no question as to the superiority of a railroad over every other mode of communication. A canal would be infinitely more expensive, and could only have been suggested by Colonel Rutherford because railroads were then unknown. Throughout the whole of the two railroad lines alluded to, a superabundance of durable wood could be found on the spot, which it would be necessary to fell to clear the ground. The whole of the land is vested in the Crown, with the trifling exception of an estate or two on the coast; and in the latter case the proprietor would be glad to make a gift of the land for such an object. A railroad would be found in the end infinitely less expensive than any macadamized road; in fact, the latter would be impracticable except with imported materials, as not a stone could be found in either valley, whilst a railroad would require no other foreign material but the iron; and as the easiest natural levels would be followed throughout, for there would be no motive for tracing the line in any particular direction, much of the expense incurred in making railroads in settled countries, where it is necessary to connect fixed given points together, would be avoided. Of the cost and expense attending the formation of ordinary roads in these soils, we have sufficient evidence before us in the Naparimas, where, bad as they are, and for half the year impassable for carts, they must have cost in their formation, annual repair, wear and tear of harness and carts, and murder of mules and stock, infinitely more than the most expensive railroad; and the planters in these districts would, I am sure, gladly make the exchange to-morrow at the highest cost at which a railroad could be estimated.

407. Looking, then, to the large outlay of capital which must attend the formation of a railroad, you consider that in the end it would be a saving process?—I am fully of that opinion, for such is the fertility of the soil, that with a sufficient population the establishment of sugar estates would be close and concentrated on each side of the line of road, and the quantity of produce passing over it would amply repay the cost of formation and annual repairs. It would not, of course, be necessary to make the whole line of road at once, but in portions only of five and ten miles, and to continue it on as fast as the Crown lands were sold on each side.

408. By whom and at whose expense should the railroads, in your opinion, be formed?—It might be done by a company, but would probably be easier effected by the Government, to whom the land



and timber belong. By receiving repayment of the cost in moderate instalments from the purchasers of the Crown lands next adjoining it, the sales and settlements of estates would be greatly facilitated, as the planter would then have only to contend with the ordinary difficulties of a new cultivation. In fact, it is impossible for the interior of these fertile alluvial districts ever to be settled advantageously and rapidly unless a regular established body of practised road-makers are employed for that purpose under practical and skilful superintendence, whatever the nature or description of the roads may be. They would then be well traced and well made in the first instance, and prove infinitely cheaper to the new settler, who frequently sinks under this last effort, when every other obstacle is overcome but that of conveying his crop to the place of shipment.

409. Do you think that the existing surveys of private lands and estates in this colony are in general correctly made?—Generally, I think they are. Some few made in former days, by persons totally incapable, are not to be depended upon.

410. Would it then be easy to ascertain the exact boundary line between private and Crown lands throughout the colony?—It would be a very difficult task to do it. The work would be extremely tedious, as it could only be done in dry seasons. Every surveyor has hitherto used the needle (instead of the theodolite), in which variations are to be found, ranging from the lowest to the highest equal to two degrees and thirty minutes. There is then the negligence of proprietors to contend with, in omitting to fix permanent boundaries, and the evil intentions of other parties who have displaced them, altogether creating difficulties which would take much time and trouble to surmount.

411. But as it must be essentially necessary to ascertain the limits of the Crown lands before they can be disposed of, which must take place whenever the uncultivated lands now in the hands of private individuals are fully settled and cultivated, what mode of proceeding would you recommend for this purpose?—I would recommend the parties wishing to purchase land to point out on the plans of the quarters, which are sufficiently correct for that purpose, the piece they have selected, and then to make a survey of the same.

412. You would not, then, recommend a previous survey of the boundaries of the Crown lands to be made throughout the colony?—On no account whatever; it would be useless, for the traces would grow up from the force and rapidity of the vegetation in a short period of time, and the operation would have to be renewed whenever a sale was effected. I would recommend a survey only to be made at the time when a purchaser of Crown land presented himself.

413. Can you inform the Committee as to the comparative expense of surveying in this and other countries?—My practical experience is limited to the colony of Trinidad; but I am satisfied, from what I have read of surveys in Canada, the United States and Australia, that the expense of surveying here must immensely exceed what it is in those countries. Our woods are thickly grown up with underbrush and vines, and you can see but a very few yards before you. In America, I understand that a horseman can generally ride through the woods in every direction. Here it is impossible; the country is one entire wood, and you can with difficulty move through it on foot, unless in frequented paths, without a cutlass to clear the way before you.

414. Surveying is, then, a difficult and laborious task in this country?—It is very much so, and a man must possess a very strong constitution, and be well accustomed to the climate, before he can practise. No European should ever attempt it until he has been some time in the colony.

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WEDNESDAY, 7th JULY, 1841.

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*Port of Spain.*

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The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

The Right Rev. Dr. *Smith*, Bishop of Agna, and Coadjutor of the Diocese of the British and Danish Islands, called in, and examined.

415. THE Committee have invited your lordship's attendance, being aware that your pastoral duties have afforded you the best opportunities of being well acquainted with the labouring population, both before and since emancipation; and they first beg to know the extent of the diocese of which you are coadjutor?—The diocese comprises Trinidad, Grenada, St. Vincent's, Tobago, Barbados, St. Lucia, Dominica, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitt's, Antigua, St. Thomas, St. John's, and Santa Cruz.

416. And all these islands you are expected to visit from time to time in performance of your pastoral duties?—Yes; and I have visited the whole of them excepting Tobago, Nevis, Antigua and St. John's, where the members of my church are very few. I have felt obliged to devote the whole of my time hitherto to the spiritual wants of large congregations of Catholics in the other islands, in compliance with the instructions of the Bishop of Olympus.

417. How long have you been employed in this diocese?—From 1828 I acted in the capacity of apostolic missionary until my consecration as Bishop of Agna in 1837, by grace of the holy see and the sanction of the British Government.

418. You are then well acquainted with the state of the labouring population in the British colonies in your diocese, both before and since emancipation?—As well as may reasonably be expected from a person filling my situation in the church.

419. Be so good as to state the principal effect which emancipation appears to have had upon the moral conduct and deportment of the peasantry in the British islands?—In what I am about to state, and in any answers I may give to further questions, I beg to be understood as speaking only of the members of my own church; with respect to them, I am of opinion that emancipation has had the most favourable effects upon their general conduct and behaviour, particularly in a religious point of view; although, I am sorry to say, that in some parts of Trinidad there are great deductions to be made from this favourable statement.

420. Then you do not find the improvement to be equally great in all the colonies under your jurisdiction?—Not in the same proportion; in Grenada the labouring classes are unsettled and unsteady, arising, I believe, from the temptation of high wages in this island;

whilst in St. Lucia, I think their improvement in industry and general moral conduct has been the greatest.

421. In what particular points did you observe this improvement?—In the first place they have exhibited the greatest anxiety to have resident clergymen and schools established amongst them, for which purpose the sum of 17,000 dollars (3,540*l.* sterling) has been subscribed by the labouring population alone, not exceeding 12,000 in number; and during six weeks that I have passed in that island, visiting nearly every estate, I did not hear a single serious complaint from any one planter against the labourers.

422. What is the rate of wages in St. Lucia?—In March last, when I left the colony, wages were at 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* sterling per day, with houses and gardens provided for the labourers, but no other allowances of any description.

423. How was a day's work fixed and regulated?—A day's work was considered to be nine to ten hours, exclusive of the time required for meals; and I was credibly informed that the labourers worked quite as well as at any time during slavery and apprenticeship.

424. Had you no complaints then respecting their vagrancy, of their quitting one estate, after a short service, to work upon another, without any apparent cause?—None whatever.

425. Had you no complaints respecting drinking spirituous liquors to excess?—None whatever.

426. To what cause then do you ascribe such an extraordinary and marked difference with respect to industry, settled habits and sobriety, between the labourers of St. Lucia and Trinidad?—I think to their all speaking the same language (French), and living generally under resident proprietors, amongst whom there is more of courtesy and less competition than apparently exist amongst employers in this island, judging at least from the evidence which has been taken.

427. Have you read the evidence already taken by the Committee attentively?—Yes, I have.

428. From the information you have obtained since your return to the colony, are you then of opinion that the complaints made by the planters here generally against the labourers, and more particularly as to their excessive consumption of rum, are well founded?—I fear they are; and I have been so much alarmed by the reports made to me by the clergy of my church, established in the rural districts, that I felt it to be my duty to visit the estates personally, with the view of pointing out to the labouring population the evils which must occur from a perseverance in this pernicious habit, which, unless checked, I am satisfied will so demoralize and enfeeble them before ten years elapse, that they will be unable to work for their own subsistence.

429. Do you expect that your exhortations will have much effect?—I think they will; many of the labourers have pledged themselves to me not to ask for drams, and up to the present time I find they have kept their word. In one respect I observe a manifest improvement, as within the last few weeks thirty-seven couples have, in consequence of my exhortations, consented to be united together in holy matrimony.

430. Do you think that the proprietors in St. Lucia are, in fact, as much in want of labour to keep up the cultivation of their estates as we are in Trinidad?—Having so lately arrived here, I am not personally informed sufficiently as to the wants of this island; but, in St. Lucia, I have every reason to believe that the labouring popula-

tion is sufficient for the actual cultivation, having heard that several estates formerly abandoned have lately been brought into cultivation.

431. Has there been any large immigration into St. Lucia since emancipation?—I was told that about fifteen hundred runaway slaves from Martinique had arrived there before and since that period.

432. Do you think that fifteen hundred immigrants alone would account for the population of St. Lucia being sufficient for their actual cultivation?—No; I ascribe it to their more regular working, and the greater industry of the labourers in St. Lucia, and to the circumstance that great numbers of the free people settled there, who formerly refused to work in the field, have, since emancipation, undertaken that description of labour.

433. Are you not, then, of opinion that this sufficiency of labourers in St. Lucia may have been the chief cause of the want of competition for their services in that island, by which the gratuitous distribution of provisions, rum, &c. has been avoided, wages kept at a reasonable level, and the industry and sobriety of the population secured?—I beg, in reply, to refer to my answer to a former question (426); and to show the extent to which this feeling of courtesy keeps down competition in St. Lucia, I was assured that, previous to emancipation, the runaway slaves from Martinique were rarely employed by the planters, lest it should prove offensive to their friends in that island.

434. To what cause do you ascribe the less vagrant habits of the labouring population of St. Lucia as compared to that of Trinidad?—To the circumstance of there being fewer immigrants, and to the population of the estates, consisting generally of the same families who were resident upon them prior to emancipation, who continue to cultivate their provision grounds, and keep them in good order.

435. Are provisions and vegetables more abundant in St. Lucia than in Trinidad?—I can only say that I was told in St. Lucia that they expected to raise a crop more than sufficient for their own consumption, with a considerable surplus for exportation, whilst here, it appears, from the evidence taken, that we depend largely upon imported supplies from the Spanish Main.

436. How many clergymen belonging to your church are employed in this island?—A bishop, a coadjutor bishop, and sixteen clergymen.

437. To what districts are they appointed?—The two bishops and four clergymen reside in Port of Spain; one clergyman in St. Juan's, one in St. Joseph's, one in Arima, one in Carenage, one in Toco, one in Mayaro, one in Couva, one in San Fernando, one in Savanna Grande, one in Oropouche, one in La Brea, and one at Cedros.

438. Have you churches in each of the districts you have named?—There are churches or chapels in all except Mayaro, where a church is now building; and at La Brea I believe there is a large dwelling-house occupied in a temporary way as a place of divine worship. In Port of Spain the cathedral is a noble edifice, in aid of which a chapel has been lately erected in the upper part of the town, and two other chapels are now building in the rural parts of this parish. In the principal towns of St. Juan's and St. Joseph's, large and handsome churches were built some years ago, and another church, on a very extensive scale, is now erecting in the town of San Fernando. The church of Arima was built many years ago: it is large and commodious.

439. By whom is your clergy paid?—By the colonial government,

except the coadjutor bishop, who gave up his salary in 1838 in favour of an additional clergyman appointed to Port of Spain, which the great increase in the population rendered necessary.

440. You find, then, that the population of Port of Spain and the vicinity has largely increased?—Very considerably, judging from the number of baptisms, which afford, I consider, very correct data. In 1833 the number of baptisms in the parish, which in the settled parts embraces a radius of about six miles, amounted to 430, which have been gradually increasing up to 608 in 1840, and in the first six months of the present year amount to 386, or 772 for the year; making a difference of 342 on the last eight years, or an accession of eighty per cent. to the population.

441. Have you found any difficulty in providing religious and educational accommodation for this increased population?—With respect to the religious service, I have already stated that I was obliged to give up my own salary to provide an additional clergyman in 1838, and I still require another in consequence of the increasing population since that period. In saying this, I feel bound to state that the assistance granted by the colonial government has been most liberal; and I have reason to hope that the honourable board of council will, on due representation of the case, provide suitably for this increased population.

442. Have you schools established in all the twelve rural parishes?—Generally; but we are much pressed for want of sufficient funds to maintain and extend them.

443. Do the parents of the children, then, not pay for their education?—In some cases partially, and in others not at all. At present the clergy and myself are waiting patiently and with confidence for the development of the comprehensive system of education recommended by his Excellency the Governor to the home Government for adoption.

444. Are you aware of the existence of any labouring population in any part of the world who are so well able to pay for the education of their children as the peasantry of Trinidad?—Decidedly not.

445. Would it not, then, be more advantageous, in every moral point of view, to inculcate upon them the necessity of educating their offspring at their own expense, rather than waste their means in extravagant luxuries?—Certainly; and so far as we are able we are acting upon that opinion; but we find the greatest reluctance on the part of most of the parents to incur this expense. The difficulty is however decreasing, and I am in hopes will be ultimately surmounted. Whilst on the subject of education, I beg to add, that I am pleased to find that the English language is every day becoming more prevalent: when I arrived in 1828, few of the children of the lower classes spoke English; almost all speak English now, and it is the language taught in all the schools under the superintendence of the clergy and myself.

446. From your observations or inquiries, do you think that the immigrants who have arrived in this colony are more moral or better behaved than our native labourers?—From my own observations, and from what I have heard from gentlemen of the highest respectability, I am decidedly not of that opinion, but give the preference to the natives of the island.

447. Of the number of liberated Africans which were sent by

Government to this colony five or six years since, amounting to about 1,000, have you any in your congregation?—By referring to the register of baptisms, I find that 274 adults were baptized in the town parish.

448. From your knowledge of them, are you of opinion that any evil or inconvenience would arise from the introduction of a large number of them into the colony, to the extent of 5,000 to 6,000 annually?—Decidedly not, if the council of government continue to act as liberally as they have hitherto done in affording us aid and assistance.

449. You may have observed by the evidence taken, that a Mahometan place of worship has been established in the eastern settlements of disbanded soldiers: would you not fear its extension if a considerable population were to arrive from Africa?—Decidedly not: I am sure that if a Catholic clergyman were in their immediate vicinity, they would cease to practise Mahometan rites.

450. Why then have you not a clergyman in the eastern settlements?—Because the population is so small and scattered that I could not hope to obtain a salary for his support.

451. Are there not many other parts of the island needing the services of a clergyman, where from the paucity of the population the same want of religious instruction exists?—Yes, there are many.

452. The introduction, then, of an increased population would afford additional facilities to the moral improvement and religious instruction of the inhabitants now resident in the colony?—I think it would be of the greatest advantage to them, both in a spiritual and social point of view. Independently of religious establishments, which could then be supported in places now deprived of them, benefit societies, which are found highly advantageous in the populous districts, could be extended. I have twenty now established amongst the different trades and labourers, comprising 2,300 members, most of whom are heads of families, who pay from 5*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.* sterling per month, amounting in the aggregate to 1,750*l.* per annum, from which fund they receive, when sick, subsistence, medicine, and occasional medical attendance; and funeral expenses in case of death. These societies could then be extended to places now deprived of them, solely from the want of a sufficient population.

453. As it is a matter of the highest importance to humanity and Christianity to put down the slave trade, now existing, by every possible means, and as its continuance is partly ascribed to the superior fertility of the colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico, the Committee wish to know whether you have visited either of those islands, and can give any information with respect to the nature of their soil as compared with that of Trinidad?—I have never visited Cuba, but have passed four months in Porto Rico. I do not profess to be able to judge as correctly of the comparative value of soils as an agriculturist; but feeling a great interest in this question, I have made particular inquiries of persons fully competent to judge from their agricultural knowledge and residence in both islands, and from every information I have received, I feel assured that no part of Porto Rico is equal in fertility to the best sugar soils in Trinidad.

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WEDNESDAY, 14th JULY, 1841.

*Port of Spain.*

The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

*Frederick Brown, Esq.*, again called in, and examined.

454. THE Committee understand that you wish to amend some part of your late evidence; in what particular do you wish to make a change?—In reperusing it, it would appear from one of my answers as if I had never been upon the river Ortoire; I meant only to state that I had never been at the highest point to which the tide-water flows; but I have made surveys in other parts and lower down nearer the mouth of the river.

*Lewis Pantin, Esq.*, called in, and examined.

455. How long have you resided in this colony?—Twenty-four years.

456. In what capacity or profession?—I have served twenty-one years as a public officer in the several departments of examiner of invoices and public accounts, and colonial secretary; and I have been a proprietor of a sugar estate since 1818, in the quarter of Pointe-à-Pierre, where I own now two properties.

457. Can you give any information with respect to squatters, who, the Committee understand, are in great numbers in that neighbourhood?—I can; there is a large establishment of them, I should think as many as 500, at a place called Gasparee, upon lands partly belonging to an abandoned occupancy, known by the name of Tarletons, and the remainder on Crown lands immediately adjoining. There is another growing settlement two miles further off, in the immediate vicinity of my estate of Bon Aventure, amounting already to about fifty or sixty, and numerous detached settlers of the same description are scattered on the intermediate Crown lands, on the line of road leading from Concorde to Bon Aventure; and many of the labourers employed upon both those estates have left the houses they occupied thereon, and have established their houses and grounds upon the Crown lands in the neighbourhood.

458. Do the Crown lands, then, bound those two estates?—Not the Concorde; but they are within ten minutes walk of it. The Bon Aventure is surrounded by Crown lands.

459. What distance is the Bon Aventure from the shipping-place?—Three miles.

460. Are there any estates to the eastward in the interior?—None.

461. Have you ever denounced any of these squatters to the road commissioners, who are appointed to act as the deputies of the surveyor-general?—I never have, and for this simple reason: the cultivation of my two estates depends entirely upon the labourers around me. I know that the greater part of my labourers on the Bon Aventure have their gardens on the Crown lands. If I were to make myself a

marked man by taking active steps to eject them, I should inevitably be ruined. They do not depend upon me for employment; they can find it any day they please on any other estate in the island; but I am entirely dependent upon them for labour, and cannot risk rendering myself unpopular.

462. In what class are the persons appointed to act as road commissioners in your district?—They are either proprietors or managers of estates.

463. Must not the same personal interest, then, which governs you influence their proceedings, and in a great degree disqualify them from acting as efficient substitutes for the surveyor-general?—I am convinced that they are actuated by the same feelings as myself.

464. Do you think that these unauthorized settlers are fully aware of the illegality of their proceedings?—I can only say that I have invariably told them so. Not long ago some of my labourers, observing me buying coffee, asked me why I did not weed and clean a small plantation of coffee on Crown land in the neighbourhood. I took advantage of the opportunity to state that I did not dare to touch it, being assured that the Crown would take possession the moment after I had expended money and labour upon it. But my caution had apparently no effect, for the settlements are increasing, and they naturally think that what has been permitted so long cannot be contrary to law.

465. How long is it since the first squatters settled themselves in that neighbourhood?—A few of them probably above twenty years, and I believe with the permission of the then commandant; for in time of slavery the Government encouraged free settlers, and every officer under it was naturally disposed to do the same.

466. Have many become squatters since emancipation?—The great majority of them.

467. Do they generally continue to work as day-labourers upon the adjoining estates?—Those near Bon Aventure do so irregularly, but much more steadily than the settlers at Gasparee, who do little or no labour upon estates, unless they are in immediate want of money for some particular purpose, or of rum, which they carry up to the settlement and sell to their comrades.

468. Are they principally persons who have acquired their freedom in this island, or immigrants?—I can safely say there is not an individual amongst them from the other British islands.

469. Are they generally orderly and well behaved?—I think they are.

470. Are they injurious to the district in any other way than working so little as labourers?—They have been denuding the Crown lands of their best timber for years past, which their vicinity to the river Guaracare enables them very easily to do.

471. Can you personally vouch for this?—I know it to be a fact. The public road to the shipping-place passes through my estate, and I see it continually passing in large quantities. I can safely say, that within the last ten or twelve years they have cleared every stick of valuable wood from at least 150 quarrées (480 acres) of land.

472. Do you think the Government has been made aware of this circumstance?—Repeated representations have been made; but it is only within the last month that any steps have been taken to check it, when one day a large quantity was seized at the shipping-place of the Concorde, the half of which was stolen away on the ensuing night.



473. By whom?—I presume by the parties who cut it.

474. Do you think there are any squatters on the Crown lands in the interior?—I should say decidedly not; they prefer placing themselves in the neighbourhood of the cultivated districts; at least I have never heard of any being elsewhere.

475. Are you well acquainted with the range of the Montserrat hills immediately behind your estates?—I am; I have visited them in various directions to the summit of the highest.

476. What is the general appearance of the land and soil throughout?—They are of moderate ascent, and a cart-road might be easily traced to their summit. The soil is of the first description of black mould, and of great depth, deeper I should say than any I have seen in the island.

477. Have many estates been established on these hills?—I know only of two on the ascent; for notwithstanding the superiority of the soil, the labour and expense required to make a road has deterred settlers from attempting it.

478. How long did you act as colonial secretary?—From 1835 to 1838.

479. Do you recollect this circular despatch from the Colonial Office, of the 30th January 1836, being received by the Governor, Sir George Hill?—(*The same being handed to the witness.*)—I do.

480. Pray what was done by the Governor in consequence?—The despatch was published in the Gazette by his order, and instructions were issued to the magistrates to make a return of the names of all parties who might be found squatting upon the Crown lands.

481. It appears that in this despatch the principles of the Wakefield system, as to the disposal of the Crown lands, are distinctly referred to, and the governor is requested to take the matter into his earliest consideration, and to submit to the colonial minister the arrangements he might recommend as best calculated to carry into effect in this colony the views of Government. Did the Governor immediately follow these instructions?—I do not think that he made any communication on the subject.

482. Within your recollection did he make any inquiry or consult with any members of the legislative council, or other individuals, as to what should be the minimum price of Crown lands within this colony?—I have no recollection that he ever did.

483. Did he never consult with any of the planters, and yourself amongst the number, or in your capacity of member of the executive council, in consequence of the instructions distinctly given in this circular, to ascertain whether the holders of uncultivated lands would be disposed to make a cession of them, which at that time might have been effected at a very trifling expense, and the great majority of the evils we are now suffering under in consequence of a limited population avoided?—I do not believe he consulted any body on the subject, and can decidedly say he never consulted me.

484. You think, then, that he did nothing but publish the circular and call for a return of the squatters?—Nothing more.

THURSDAY, 15th JULY, 1841.

*Port of Spain.*

The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

*Horatio N. Huggins, Esq.,* called in, and examined.

485. How long have you resided in the colony of Trinidad?—Twenty-one years.

486. What is your profession?—A planter; I am sole proprietor of the Bronte estate, and own one-half of the Union Hall and Nassau estates, in the district of Naparima.

487. Have you not lately turned your attention to the formation of a public village on one of your estates?—I have, in consequence of application from several individuals to purchase lots of land on the Nassau estate, and about a fortnight ago put up several lots at public sale to ascertain their value; I have sold sixteen, and shall now proceed to sell the remainder by private sale.

488. What is the size of these lots, and at what price were they sold?—Twelve lots fronting on the public road, 50 feet by 100 deep, sold at an average of 116 dollars (24 *l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*) each, and the lots immediately behind them, 70 feet by 100, sold at 110 dollars (22 *l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*) each.

489. Is that not above 1,000 dollars (208 *l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) per acre?—Yes, it is.

490. Is there, then, such a scarcity of land in South Naparima that it should command so high a price?—Not at all; I should be glad to sell the spare lands on the Bronte estate, which are only removed five miles higher up, at thirty dollars (6 *l.* 5*s.*) per acre. But the labourers have abundance of money, and prefer paying this price for the situation. It is close to the shipping-place, from whence they have easy communication by water with the seat of government, and adjoining four cross roads leading to the north and south quarters, and the town of San Fernando, constituting a considerable thoroughfare, where they will always have abundance of news and company. Some of the purchasers were lately resident as labourers on the Jordan Hill estate, immediately adjoining the Bronte lands; yet they prefer coming down and paying an extra price at the village.

491. Do you think they were stinted in land for their gardens at Jordan Hill, which might have influenced their removal?—On the contrary, it is an estate on which the labourers are amply supplied with land; it is well known as being more abundantly stocked with provisions than any other in the quarter; and it is partly with the money they have made out of these grounds, where they were rent free, that they have purchased the village lots. The difference in the situation is the sole cause of the difference in price. Fifteen months ago, before I had determined upon selling any of the Nassau lands, two of my own labourers purchased lots of Mr. Duncan Campbell, near the town of San Fernando, for which they paid at the rate of nearly 2,000 dollars (416 *l.* sterling) per acre.

492. Are you not one of the road commissioners in South Naparima?—I am.

493. Do you find any difficulty in keeping your roads in repair?—The greatest.

494. From what cause?—Partially from defects in the road ordinance, which prevents the assessments from being received in due time, so that the proper season for repairs has elapsed before the money is collected to pay for them; and, in the next place, the extravagant wages demanded by labourers for working on the public road, where they expect to make from two and a half to three dollars (12s. 6d. sterling) a day; and which, I have every reason to believe, they do make.

495. But is it possible to keep up this rate of wages on the roads, when labourers on estates make only one dollar (4s. 2d. sterling) per day; will not competition amongst them equalize the rates?—The road work is altogether performed by the American immigrants, who contract for it, not by the day, but by the hundred feet. Either our labourers are not intelligent enough to make the necessary calculations, or they dislike the continuous and steady hard work which it requires. But the chief difficulty in keeping the roads in order arises from the nature of the soil, which is deep and stiff, and so tenacious that it will occasionally pull off a horse's shoe when at all loose in passing through it.

496. How is it possible to pass over a road of this description with a loaded cart?—In the dry season, when the surface has been properly smoothed, and not allowed to cake hard in ruts and deep holes, it makes one of the finest roads possible, as it does not easily pulverise by friction; but then our seasons are so precarious that the rains sometimes commence before the crop is over, and most frequently before a large portion is conveyed to the shipping-place; and it is not uncommon to have it embargoed upon the estate until the next year.

497. As a planter, do you think it would be a saving to you to pay a high price for a railway over such roads?—I think the saving it would create would enable an estate to pay interest upon 10,000 dollars advantageously, instead of continuing the present system, where every expense incurred must be repeated annually. But it is impossible to calculate all the expense and loss incurred at present. The greater part of the crop must always be carted to the shipping-place before it is sufficiently drained of the molasses, lest the sudden setting in of the rain should prevent it, by which a considerable loss of molasses is incurred; should the rain fall, it must then be put in bags on the backs of mules, and the empty hogsheads filled at the shipping-place, which is a most expensive and troublesome process. Frequently, as I have stated, it has been arrested upon the estate altogether, the roads becoming too deep for the last process. In this case it deteriorates much in quality and in quantity, from the dampness of the weather, before the next shipping season arrives. Last year a great quantity of sugar was locked up by the bad weather on every estate on the road; fourteen hogsheads which I had at Bronte were reduced to ten when finally shipped. There must have been eighty locked up at Jordan Hill, which is nearer the shipping place, and upon every hogshead so detained there must have been an additional loss of at least 10*l.* sterling, from the intermediate fall in the market. Besides which no stores or supplies can in such sea-

sons be got up to the estates, and the fish required for the subsistence of the negroes has to be carried up on their heads.

498. Are there no materials in the neighbourhood to give a solid surface to the roads?—None nearer than the St. Fernando Hill; and that is not stone, but a kind of marly gravel, and being a mile distant from the south quarter, the expense of carriage is so great, that it has been used in no direction above a mile in length; it would be cheaper to make a railroad than to convey it much further.

499. What profit do you expect upon your sugar crop this year at Union Hall?—In consequence of the high wages and state of the sugar market, I fear, from the last calculation made, that there will be a loss of at least 1,000*l.* sterling upon the present crop.

500. Why do you continue the cultivation under such circumstances; would it not be better to stop one year, which might tend to reduce the rate of wages?—If I were to stop, the labourers now resident upon my estate would repair to others, where the proprietors would be so glad to receive them, that I could never expect them to return again. Besides, an estate here, if allowed to run out of cultivation, would take, even with a large command of labour, two years at the least to replace it in its former condition, and the expense of doing it would be some thousand pounds sterling. Looking therefore always for an improvement in the industry and behaviour of the people from increased immigration, I think it more prudent to go on at present, even at a heavy loss.

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*David Lockhart, Esq., called in, and examined.*

501. WHAT is your calling or profession?—I am at the head of the botanical garden, to which I was appointed by his Excellency Sir Ralph Woodford, in 1818, immediately after my return from the expedition up the Congo or Zaire river in Africa, to which I was attached as assistant botanist and gardener.

502. Have you been in any other parts of the world?—Yes, I have been in the province of Venezuela on the Spanish Main, in Cuba, Jamaica, the Bermudas, and most of the Windward Islands.

503. From your great experience in soils and vegetable productions, pray state your opinion as to the soils in the different places you have named, comparing them with that of Trinidad?—Bermuda is a barren rock. The soil of the Windward Islands is greatly inferior to ours, and so is Venezuela in the neighbourhood of Carraccas, and the valley of Aragua. The only place which can bear any comparison is Cuba; but altogether I have seen nothing equal to Trinidad in the great variety and excellence of the soils; and particularly in its seasons, which, from its situation, exempts it from the droughts to which all the other islands, from Barbados to Cuba, must be occasionally subject.

504. But as compared to the land you saw in Africa?—A large proportion of what I saw there was a very poor, light, sandy soil. It only began to improve where the expedition stopped, about 250 miles up the river; but even there it was in no respect to be compared with the quality of the soil in this island.

505. How far do you find this island adapted for the growth of the spices of the East?—I have never been in the East; but all the ex-

periments I have made here have been extremely successful. Nutmegs and cloves answer perfectly well. I have in the garden about 100 mature nutmeg trees, and have taken, during this season, above twenty pounds from one tree. Several officers of rank, both in the army and navy, who have been in the East, have assured me that they are equal to any they had seen there, and quite as productive. Some time ago I forwarded a sample to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures in London, which was sent to the inspector of East India spices for examination, who reported upon them so favourably, that the society awarded me a large gold medal, which has unfortunately been since stolen from me by thieves in this island. An equally favourable report has been made upon the cloves, and both of them could be grown here in any quantity.

506. Have you not a large number of young plants of both descriptions always on hand for distribution?—A great number.

507. Have you had many applicants for them?—Not for many years past; and of those distributed at an early period, the greater part have perished from neglect.

508. To what do you ascribe this circumstance?—To the paucity of population. The planters are always employed in making sugar by wholesale, and there is no cottage population, as yet, by which a cultivation of this description could be economically attended to.

509. Have you not plants of the Moka coffee in the garden?—Thousands of them.

510. Do they differ much in growth and appearance from the West India coffee?—Yes, there is some difference in the foliage, and the grain of the fruit is much smaller; but it yields very abundantly.

511. Do you think our soil well adapted for it?—The whole range of mountains to the north would suit it well, and the summits probably the best.

512. Have you been upon the loftiest summits?—Yes, I have been upon the highest parts.

513. Is not the range well wooded throughout?—A thicket of wood from top to bottom; the ascent is covered with palms and forest trees in many places, from 80 to 100 feet high, before you come to a branch.

514. There is, then, an abundance of good timber in the island?—An abundance of the best description of hardwood timber covers the whole northern range.

515. Generally speaking, would you call the surface of the island level and flat?—Very much so, more so than any island I have ever visited. I should say that the low lands and valleys amount to three-fourths of the whole island.

516. Is much of it swampy?—Not much that I have seen, but a great part of the interior of the island must be unknown. Wherever I have been I have found the land of the first quality, and densely covered with the best timber.

517. Had you many opportunities of seeing the natives when up the Congo river in Africa?—Yes, I was nearly three months amongst them.

518. Did it appear a populous country, and were the inhabitants free or slaves?—In the interior it seemed populous, and they were apparently free. The chiefs were attended by domestic slaves, but the rural population I believe were free.

519. What cultivation did they follow?—Provisions entirely; but

they seemed indolent, apparently doing little ; which may have been owing to the want of a market for their produce.

520. Were they stout and active ?—Very much so ; a fine-looking set of people.

521. Did they seem well disposed and ready to sell you provisions ?—They seemed a cheerful, good-natured set, and readily furnished us with goats, pigs and poultry, and every kind of native vegetables, of which there was an abundance.

522. Did you pay them in money ?—No, in umbrellas, handkerchiefs, blankets, knives, razors, beads, and a great variety of wares with which I am little acquainted.

523. What apparently was their form of government and state of civilization ?—They all seemed nearly in a savage state. They were kept in awe by the fetish, who governed in each village, which was composed of a number of movable huts, made to be carried off at a moment's warning ; and as to dress, they were all but naked.

524. Do you not think it would be advantageous to transfer a few thousands of them to this island ?—Not a doubt of it ; they seem a fine cheerful race, and with a little pains, I believe could be easily civilized ; but where they are, they are never likely to do any good for themselves or others.

525. Did you find the slave trade carried on so high up the river ?—To a great extent. There was a Portuguese factory below, about sixty miles from the mouth of the river, to which the slaves were sent from the interior.

526. Although, then, there were few slaves in the population around you, many were brought down from the interior ?—I believe a great many ; we met them travelling in gangs of ten, fifteen, and twenty each, as the falls in the river above prevented their coming by water.

527. Did the free rural population around you seem to be indignant or angry at seeing their countrymen carried away to be sold as slaves ?—They seemed perfectly indifferent about it, as if it were a matter of every day occurrence. Even the slaves themselves did not seem to care much.

528. Did they appear to have suffered much by their conveyance from the interior ?—Very little. They seemed generally in good health.

FRIDAY, 16th JULY, 1841.

*Port of Spain.*

The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

*Martin Sorsano, Esq.*, called in, and examined.

529. How long have you resided in the colony?—I am a native of the colony. My family was settled here many years before the capture of the island. My father was *contador de exercito*, or intendant of the finances, under the Spanish Government.

530. What office do you fill under the Government?—I am commissary of population and surveyor-general.

531. Can you state the quantity of granted and ungranted lands, and the amount in cultivation in the island?—Yes; I have brought a statement with me, taken from the latest returns in my office.

(*The witness here presented the following statement :*)

180 sugar estates, of which 104 have distilleries.

21,710	acres	planted	in	canes.
6,910	"	"	"	cocoa.
1,095	"	"	"	coffee.
6,313	"	"	"	provisions.
7,237	"	"	"	pasture.

43,265 total in cultivation.

208,379 acres granted in the colony.

1,079,301 " ungranted.

1,287,680 total acres, according to Captain Columbine.

1,536,000 " " according to Mallet.

532. The Committee observe two statements of the quantity of land contained in the colony differing from each other; which do you consider to be the most correct?—I think Captain Columbine's statement of 1,287,680 acres is the most correct.

533. Of this quantity, it appears that 1,079,301 acres are still in possession of the Crown, and that 208,379 acres have been granted to individuals. Were any of these grants made in large parcels?—Very few of the grants exceed 500 or 600 acres; the greater number are of 100 *quarrées*, or 320 acres. The largest grant is that of Orange Grove, in Tacarigua, which consists of about 2,600 acres.

534. Are the grants scattered throughout the island in different parts?—Principally along the margin of the gulf; on the line of the Caroni river, north and south of it, and to the eastward under the northern range of hills, where the nature of the soil rendered a road more practicable. The only closely-settled district is in the two *Naparimas*, where a rich vein of sugar soil commences. The great body of the interior of the island and the greatest part of the northern, eastern and southern coasts are yet ungranted.

535. The Committee observe that only 6,313 acres are planted in provisions. How many individuals do you think an acre of ordinary

land will support in this colony?—It is not easy to determine how many it might support. There are numerous small settlements of one quarrée each (three acres and one-fifth), which have greatly increased since emancipation, and are every day increasing, upon which I have observed in many instances above thirty persons located, which would give near ten persons to an acre; but their husbandry is so slovenly and bad, that I believe the land would easily produce twice the quantity of provisions they obtain from it; but at present we import a great quantity of ground provisions from the Spanish Main.

536. Is there much uncultivated land in the neighbourhood of Port of Spain (the seat of government)?—An immense quantity; there are large tracts in the valleys of Diego Martin, Maraval and St. Ann's, at the Carenage, La Ventille, and on the hills all round, the whole of which is well adapted for coffee and provisions of every description.

537. There is, then, no want of land on which small settlers can establish themselves by purchase?—Not the least want, and they are settling everywhere rapidly. I really believe they settle nearly as fast as immigrants arrive. It is my opinion that few will remain above a year working as labourers, whilst wages remain so high.

538. Can you furnish a statement of the population of the island at different periods since its cession at the peace of Amiens?—I have it not with me, but I will send it in to the Committee.

539. When was the last census taken?—The last which can be called a census was in 1838; the returns in 1839 and 1840 were so defective, that it was found impracticable to make up a general census from them.

540. To what cause do you ascribe these inaccuracies in the returns?—The great difficulty I believe to have arisen from the present wandering disposition of the labourers, by which the population is found to be so shifting, that it is impossible to number them accurately; this was alleged to be the cause by the parties employed to make up the returns, and from my own observations I believe it to be correct.

541. Is there any great difference in the proportion of the two sexes in the colony?—The returns will show the difference, but I know there is a majority of females. I observe here amongst my papers a return of the population of Port of Spain for 1838, where out of the aggregate number of 11,693, there appear to be 4,912 males and 6,716 females.

542. Do you believe that a similar difference exists throughout the colony?—Not to that amount, but the females preponderate.

543. In your department, have you had access to the surveys made by Colonel Rutherford, of the Engineers, when acting here as surveyor-general in 1803 and 1804?—Yes, I have.

544. What was his principal work?—The taking of the levels between the Caroni and Oropouche rivers, for the purpose of forming a canal to make a line of communication between the eastern and western coasts.

545. What was the result of the survey?—That the communication by canal could be easily made.

546. Did he take levels in any other parts of the island?—I believe nowhere else.

547. Was any estimate made of the expense of forming the canal?—I believe none. There is none in the office.

548. Have the levels between the Lagoon of Siperia and the River Ortoire ever been taken?—Never.



549. Have you made any surveys yourself in that district?—Never.

550. From your knowledge of the surface of the island, would there be any difficulty in tracing roads generally throughout it?—There would be no difficulty in making good traces. No part of the island, with the exception of the northern ridge, would present any material difficulty. The major part of the surface is either flat or undulating at a moderate height.

551. Is the island well wooded throughout?—Covered with lofty timber throughout, excepting only where settlers have cleared it away.

552. And this generally of a good and useful quality?—Of the best, but most frequently wasted by the settlers from inability to carry it to a market. Often have I known the ballata trees to be cut down merely for the fruit, which it was otherwise difficult to get at from their height and straitness.

553. Have you turned your attention at all to the practicability of making railroads in this island?—Very little. I have not been in England since railroads were established; but as levels could be easily traced, I should not apprehend any difficulty here but want of labour and capital.

554. If a good railroad were made into the interior, would there be any want of the best timber for shipment?—There would be abundance of it.

555. Are you not conservator of the Crown lands?—Yes, as surveyor-general.

556. From the returns in your office, do there appear to be many intruders on the Crown lands at present?—Not in my office; but I know that returns have been made, and are making, to Government.

557. Have you not reason to think that there are numbers of squatters in various parts of the island?—I have heard many persons complaining to that effect, and I believe it to be the case.

558. Were you not corregidor of the Indians for many years?—Yes, I was corregidor for seven or eight years of the Indian mission at Arima, which was originally founded by my father, and of which he was corregidor from before the cession of the island until his death in 1815.

559. Do they not hold a tract of land set apart for their own use?—Yes, a tract of about 1,000 acres, granted to them by the King of Spain, to which Sir Ralph Woodford added afterwards 320 acres, in consequence of their complaining of a want of provision grounds.

560. What has been the average number of Indians in that mission?—They never exceeded 600, and have now fallen off to less than half that number.

561. Have they not always met with the most liberal treatment from the colonial government, and have laboured only for their own benefit?—Always; they were even exempted from taxes paid by other free classes in the community, and had medical attendance furnished to them gratis.

562. To what, then, do you ascribe the gradual and rapid diminution in their number?—Chiefly to the gradual mixture of the races. As pure Indians they were compelled to remain at the mission, and conform to the regulations; but the children born of Spanish and Creole fathers could not be so classed, and would not submit to the restraint of remaining there.

563. Is the mission, then, broken up?—Virtually it is so. No regulations are now enforced, and those who remain there follow orders,

because they have the benefit of the crops of cocoa belonging to the mission.

564. As they appear to have emancipated themselves from the regulations of the mission, do you think they have any legal claim to either the cocoa or the land at present?—I should think not; but it is a legal question, which I am not competent to answer.

*The following Letter and Population Returns for the Colony of Trinidad were subsequently received by the Committee:—*

Year 1797	17,718	after the capture of the island.	
1802	28,477	after the cession.	
1806	30,043		
1809	32,095	after the abolition of the slave trade.	
1819	39,935		
1824	41,120	after which year the transfer of slaves from one British colony to another was prohibited.	
		MALES.	FEMALES.
1829	41,020	—	—
1831	39,482	19,565	19,917
1832	40,250	19,779	20,471
1834 and 1835	39,045	19,147	19,898
1836 and 1838	39,328	19,250	20,078

Sir,—In looking over the old papers of my office, I have found attached to one of the plans an estimate of the general expense of opening the canal from the Oro-pouche river to the Caroni, which amounts to 123,682 dollars (25,767 l. sterling).  
The Hon. W. H. Burnley. (signed) *Martin Sorsano.*

*William George Knox, Esq, called in, and examined.*

565. WHAT is your profession?—An English barrister, practising at the bar of this island during the last ten years.

566. Are you interested in sugar estates in this colony?—Not personally; but in the years 1838 and 1839 I had the charge and administration of the properties of my father-in-law, Mr. Blazini, during his absence in Europe, and also at the present time.

567. Have you had any occasion to observe the state and habits of the agricultural labourers in this colony?—Yes, necessarily so, as having had charge of those properties.

568. Have you paid any attention to the injurious practice of squatting now existing?—A great deal, and have made many inquiries of persons on whose information I think I can rely.

569. Do you understand it to be extensive?—I do not think it is in the interior or in unsettled places, but principally in the vicinity of the towns and cultivated districts.

570. To what do you attribute this?—In the first place, to the natural tendency of human nature to satisfy its wants with the least expenditure of money and labour, and then to the great facility with which they occupy Crown lands in the places alluded to, where they find a ready and profitable market for all they raise, particularly for Guinea-grass, in Port of Spain and San Fernando, and have an extensive field for the profitable trade in charcoal, which is always in

demand, is easily made, and brought to market, and by which the best timber in the country is destroyed and wasted.

571. Has the practice of squatting increased since emancipation, and do you think it likely to extend further?—The present practice has altogether arisen since emancipation; formerly there were one or two settlements of runaway slaves, who hid themselves in the interior, and which I believe now no longer exist. As to the probability of its extension, that I think will materially depend upon the wages of labour and the steps taken by Government to repress the practice.

572. What is the state of the law with regard to squatting?—We are governed by the Order in Council of 6th October 1838, and the rules and forms of proceeding established by the proclamation of the 30th March 1839.

573. Are these laws calculated to repress the evil?—I think the Order in Council is. It appears to me to have been carefully drawn up, with the honest intention of checking the evil, and is unobjectionable, with the exception of one of the clauses, which limits the authority of the stipendiary justice to cases where the squatter has not been in possession one year. The rule may be fair as applied to intruders upon the lands of resident proprietors, but is most injurious as applied to Crown lands, because for many years past the colonial government has permitted and even actively encouraged the occupation of Crown lands in small patches without purchase or title. It was the practice of the commandants to grant to free persons indiscriminately written permissions to occupy portions of land within their districts, and many of the titles subsequently granted by the colonial government were founded upon an occupancy under these permissions. These permissions never expressed the locality of the land with any degree of precision, and the holders considered themselves at liberty to select any part of the Crown lands within the district, which was frequently done, changing one piece for another, in succession, after clearing away the valuable timber. No survey was made of any of the tracts so occupied until the parties were on the eve of applying for a formal grant; I believe there is no record in any of the public offices of the very large majority of these permissions, and I have known instances where these permissions were endorsed and passed from hand to hand by sale. For these reasons, I think the clause alluded to will give rise to the following difficulties: It will be difficult to distinguish the parties in occupation of Crown lands, whether they are unauthorized intruders, or holding under these permissions, or claiming under the parties who originally received them; and under all circumstances the magistrate has no authority to deal with, or even search into, the right of occupation of any or either of the above parties; his jurisdiction being strictly limited to the case of those who have intruded within the year. The only mode of dealing with them at present is by bringing an action in the Supreme Civil Court, in the name of the Crown, which would be a process so dilatory and apparently so oppressive, that the colonial government would probably shrink from the obloquy of exercising it to any extent. I do not see that there could be any objection in principle to the stipendiary justice being allowed to proceed according to the ordinance against all intruders on the Crown lands, without reference to the term of occupation, by which this difficulty would be obviated. Under all circumstances it must depend entirely upon the activity of the officers of the colonial government whether the Order

in Council shall be carried into effect ; for no proceeding can be taken in the case of unauthorized occupation of Crown lands but at the instance of the surveyor-general.

574. How far do you think the rules and forms of proceeding of 30th March 1839 are calculated to promote the object for which the Order in Council was framed ?—I do not think they are likely to promote that object ; the rules are too stringent, and the forms multifarious, involving much delay and trouble. The first rule requires the extent and boundaries of the land encroached on, with the buildings and the nature of the cultivation on it, to be “ particularly described.” This could not be done without some expense and much trouble ; in many cases it might require the assistance of a surveyor, and an inspection of the plans in the office of the commissary of population. The third rule is more stringent as to the service of the summons than the practice of the Supreme Civil Court, even in cases involving the largest properties in the colony. It is not often that the “ squatters ” are found to have “ some servant or relation ” residing upon the lands occupied by them, and I fear that in most cases it would be very difficult to comply with the requisites of the third and fourth rules. The forms subjoined to the rules appear to me unnecessarily numerous and artificial ; the proceedings in a single case would require much of the time and attention of the magistrate, and this labour is much increased by the fifth rule, which requires the magistrate to transmit to the Governor a copy of the whole proceedings in every case in which he grants an order for the compulsory restitution of the land. I think the addition of a SEAL to the signature of the magistrate to all orders, summonses, &c. quite unnecessary ; the omission of it from inadvertence is not unlikely, and might be fatal to the validity of the proceedings. The seventh rule appears to me likely to lead to much difficulty. After adjudication, the unauthorized occupier is allowed fifteen days in possession of the land, and upon default, the magistrate may order immediate possession, but such order cannot be enforced until *after a formal service of it upon the unauthorized occupier*, who probably will not be easily found fifteen days after he has been formally notified to deliver up the land, and forfeit his buildings and cultivations. Altogether, the form of proceeding, instead of being “ summary,” appears to me to require as much time and trouble, and nearly as much professional knowledge, as the great majority of civil actions which are instituted in the Supreme Civil Court.

575. Are these defects likely to produce serious consequences ?—I think these defects, together with the dread of actions for damages in the Supreme Court and the Complaint Court, in case of any departure from the rigid observance of the rules and forms, are likely to prevent any proceedings before the magistrates under the Order in Council, except such as may be instituted under the direct authority of the colonial government, by its own officers, and at the public expense.

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SATURDAY, 17th JULY, 1841.

*Port of Spain.*

The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

*John Carter, Esq., called in, and examined.*

576. HAVE you resided any time in this colony, and in what capacity?—I arrived here in 1819, and acted as escribano de camara, or secretary of the Governor's tribunal, for four years. Having paid some attention to surveying, which I took every opportunity of practising in early life, when in the navy, his Excellency Sir Ralph Woodford requested me, in 1823, to explore the country to the eastward of Chaguanas, in that part of the great plain which lies on the south side of the Caroni river, on which occasion I was six weeks in the woods, occupied in that pursuit alone. In 1825 he employed me to explore the country on the eastern coast, particularly the rivers Ortoire and Nariva, and to survey the bay of Guayaguayare, which I understood he expected at that time would have been made a port of entry. He requested me also to report upon the fitness of Manzanilla bay as a safe anchorage for small vessels. After I had completed these surveys, he requested me to cross the northern range of mountains at Arima, and proceeding eastward to Point-Galera, to report upon the nature of the country and soil on the northern coast, which I effected, returning on foot to Port of Spain, through Matura and Guanapo. Shortly afterwards he engaged me to undertake the superintendence of the cocoa-nut oil manufactory established by the board of Cabildo on the eastern coast, where I have continued to reside ever since.

577. Have you visited any other parts of the island than those you have mentioned?—I am generally acquainted with the country all around the island, having frequently taken the route of the coast in boats and small vessels in my various visits to Port of Spain from the cocoa-nut oil establishment at Nariva, and I resided for part of the year 1823, until 1825, on an estate in the hills of Montserrat, behind Savonetta.

578. Since your arrival in town from Nariva, have you read the evidence taken before this Committee?—I have.

579. From your general acquaintance with the island, do you think the railroad communications suggested by some of the witnesses are practicable?—I am decidedly of opinion that railroad communications could be made in both the valleys mentioned by Mr. Brown. The practicability of the northern line is established by Colonel Rutherford's survey; and without having traversed the whole of the southern line, I think I have seen enough to satisfy me that there is every facility for forming one in that direction. I ascended the Ortoire by water from the mouth to the junction of the Anapo, which takes its rise in the south-west, and enters the Ortoire about eighteen miles from the mouth of the latter. The influence of the tide is felt up to this junction, after which the Ortoire becomes an inconsiderable stream.

580. Is it navigable up to that point?—I sounded the whole distance, and found there from sixty to ten feet in depth, never less than the latter. Unfortunately it has a bar at the mouth, which renders it impossible for any thing but boats to enter; but within the bar it will serve admirably as a canal or water communication, until its junction with the Anapo, where I think the railroad should commence, and be continued from thence to the Gulf of Paria.

581. What do you consider to be the whole distance on this line?—From the sea on the eastern coast to the Ortoire, at the junction of the Anapo, is not more than seven miles, as the course of the Ortoire is to the south-west, and full of sinuosities; from thence to the gulf cannot be more than twenty-five statute miles. No part of this line, until you arrive at the cultivation in South Naparina, has been regularly surveyed, but from observations easy to be made, there can be no difficulty in determining that the whole must be nearly level, for instance, the course of the Anapo for five miles is very sluggish, even when flooded. Along the southern coast no considerable height is to be seen intervening between Mount Tamana, in the centre of the island; for, in fact, the whole range on the southern coast, which in most of the maps is described as mountainous, is of very moderate elevation, although broken and rugged. The only high land to the south is to the westward of Guayaguayare bay, between it and Moruga, which may be from 1,200 to 1,500 feet high, but a most superb soil.

582. Do you think that an abundance of good timber could be easily obtained for the formation of a road throughout this line?—In every part of it; but there is a large tract in particular on each side of the Ortoire, below Anapo, of probably ten miles square, called "Mural," from its being covered exclusively with the muro tree, which, of all the fine forest trees we have, appears to be the best adapted for that purpose, as I know by experience its enduring qualities in damp and moisture. From the accounts of every traveller and hunter there can be no doubt of an abundance of hardwood throughout the whole line; but the "Mural" alone would furnish more than required.

583. Is the muro tree much used in this island?—Very little, as it is scarce on the western side; but it is decidedly equal, if not superior, considering all its qualities, to any other timber we have; I think it as enduring as poui, whilst it greatly exceeds it in size. I measured several which had fallen from age, and found that they averaged above seventy feet in length, from the spurs of the root up to the lower branches, presenting a clear run of timber of that length, and about three feet in diameter.

584. Is the ground well covered with these trees?—As close as they can grow, probably about fifty feet apart, with no undergrowth but seedlings of the same tree.

585. Is the soil good?—Extremely fine, as I know by experience.

586. Independently of the two lines of road which have been alluded to, are you aware of any other parts of the island on which a good level could be traced, passing through a rich soil, favourable to sugar cultivation?—I am of opinion that railroad communications could be easily made in various directions throughout the island, with the exception only of the northern range, and the hilly parts of the centre; but in preference I should select a line commencing with the valley of the Guaracare, on the side of the gulf, and extending across the great plain, which is bounded on the north by the Mont-

serrat and Tamana hills, by the Ortoire river on the south, and terminating at the eastern coast, between the Manzanilla and Mayaro points. No regular survey has been taken, but from observations made from the nearest heights, the whole line, which cannot much exceed twenty miles to Savanna Grande, must be level throughout.

587. Are you of opinion that the soil would be found good throughout the whole of this line?—The quality at the west end of the line, in the Guaracare valley, is well known to be amongst the best. It would then run along the level at the base of the Montserrat hills, where the soil, even at their summits, is of the finest quality. The remainder of the line I believe to be rich alluvial soil. I know that for five or six miles of it from the east coast it is very superior, and have every reason to believe that the whole is the same.

588. Have you had any opportunity of ascertaining that the soil on the summit of the Montserrat hill is excellent?—I have been along the highest parts, from Savonetta to within two miles of Mount Tamana, about fifteen miles by the map, and the land is magnificent throughout. The soil is composed of chocolate-coloured vegetable mould, mixed with sea-shells. I met with a cedar tree, which had recently fallen, and in the earth which had been torn up and adhered to the roots were numerous oystershells, and in the hollow space which it had filled was a large mass of the same shells. Occasionally, where the masses of limestone obtruded beyond the soil, sea-shells were found thickly imbedded in them.

589. Is there, then, abundance of limestone rock on these hills?—Abundance, but in separate detached masses, interfering in no way with cultivation.

590. Independently, then, of cultivation and building uses, it would furnish an ample supply of materials for roads?—In any quantity required, and good roads might be traced and made throughout these hills, from the summit to the base.

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MONDAY, 19th JULY, 1841.

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*Port of Spain.*

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The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

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*Lionel Lee, Esq., called in, and examined.*

591. How long have you resided in this colony?—Since the year 1808.

592. What business have you followed during that period?—I am a sugar planter. When a lad, I served my time as overseer; I have been for many years subsequently a manager, and since 1827 I have had a share in the cultivation of the Orange Grove estate, in the district of Tacarigua, which is now entirely under my administration and charge.

593. You, then, consider yourself perfectly acquainted with agri-

cultural affairs and agricultural labourers in this colony?—I think I am.

594. Do the wages in your neighbourhood differ much from the statements which have been given as to other districts?—Not much, but, upon the whole, they are higher in Tacarigua than in Naparima, which may be owing to our lands being more flat, more affected by the rains, and consequently more subject to grass. We are paying five bits (2*s.* 1*d.* sterling) for 5,000 square feet of weeding, to the labourers who have the benefit of provision grounds on the estate, and to others, six bits (2*s.* 6*d.* sterling). But this is a large task, in consequence of the fineness of the season, and the grass and weeds not being so heavy; last year I paid the same for a square of 3,000 feet, which, from the nature of the work, required as much time to complete it.

595. Are your wages higher now than they were immediately after emancipation?—Yes, they have been higher since May 1840 than at any preceding period.

596. Have you any hope of being able to reduce them shortly, in consequence of the number of immigrants who have arrived?—It can only be done by a general combination among the planters, which is not easy to effect. I should rather recommend doing away with the gratuitous allowances of rum and fish in the first instance, and getting more steady and efficient work done for the wages now paid.

597. How many hours does a labourer take to perform his task of 5,000 feet of weeding at present?—Seldom more than four.

598. Are they not frequently in the habit of performing two tasks in the day?—Hardly ever on the Orange Grove estate. A task was considered a day's work in time of apprenticeship, and they seem to think it unnecessary now to do more.

599. How do they employ their spare time?—The old estates' people work on their grounds and gardens, and the immigrants employ themselves in a variety of trades, which they practise more than our people, or in visiting, or loitering about.

600. The immigrants, then, do not seem disposed to cultivate the land?—Generally it is the case, but latterly I observe that several have commenced, and I think that a better disposition in that respect is beginning to show itself.

601. From what parts of the world are the immigrants on the Orange Grove estate?—From Antigua, Nevis, St. Kitt's, Grenada, with a few refugees from the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, and liberated Africans. In all, we have about 150, and the same number of old estates' people.

602. Do you find the immigrants generally unsettled and wandering in their habits?—They were so shortly after their arrival; some still continue so; but I now hope that the major part of those I have are likely to become permanent residents.

603. How many slaves had you on the estate prior to emancipation?—About 200.

604. As you state that only about 150 of them reside upon the estate now, where is the remainder?—Some are dead, some are residing on lands they have purchased, and others have attached themselves to friends and families elsewhere.



605. How long since have you had this additional number of immigrants?—A few since 1839; they have been gradually increasing to the present number.

606. What proportion of work do the 300 persons resident upon the estate perform, as compared with your former gang of slaves?—They do as nearly as possible the same proportion of field-work as the 200 slaves formerly did; for the extent of the task has been diminished, and their work is so slovenly, that more weedings are required. But about the works and in taking off the crop, the amount of their labour is fully one-third less, as they are never fairly at work before seven o'clock, and invariably break off at sunset; and should any showers of rain fall, the work is completely deranged. In fact, there is as yet no steady and continuous work, such as formerly existed, in the manufacture of sugar. A few amongst them are disposed to work well, but for want of a sufficient number of steady hands to complete the spells, the whole work is deranged. This very frequently happens, and adds greatly to the expense of making a crop. It is by no means the increased amount of the wages of labour which constitutes our chief expense; it is the losses arising from the irregularity, negligence, and wilful conduct of the labourers, in many instances.

607. In what way does the misconduct of the labourers increase your expenses?—In many ways; frequently three or four labourers will not make their appearance in crop-time until ten o'clock, and I am compelled to pay a whole day's wages, rather than incur a greater loss by refusing to take them. Some of them often leave their work abruptly after it has been commenced, from some dispute amongst themselves or other trifling cause; and from the frequent stoppage of the work by these and other causes, there is a much greater consumption of fuel in proportion to the work. This year, after crop, eight iron sugar-boilers out of ten were turned out broken, arising solely from carelessness in calling for the application of fire, before a sufficient quantity of cane-juice was drawn down into them. There is great loss in the breakage of carts, and particularly in the death of stock from cruelty and ill-usage, of which I cannot give better evidence than the fact, that four oxen were always sufficient for the daily service of each cane-cart in time of slavery; this number has been gradually increasing, until I now find seven barely sufficient, although the day's work is much shorter. It is impossible to enumerate the whole of the various ways in which additional expenses are incurred from the carelessness of the negroes, as it pervades every work they are put to; and it can never be otherwise, until they are made to feel the effects of it themselves, which at present is not the case.

608. Cannot you check many of the proceedings you have mentioned, by complaining to the stipendiary magistrate?—I have tried it, and two labourers were fined for stopping the work at the mill by neglecting their duty, but the example had so little effect upon themselves or others, that it afforded little encouragement to repeat it, as it involved the loss of much time, and gave trouble at a period of the crop when every moment was valuable.

609. The ordinance of 7th September 1838 provides for contracts of service between employers and labourers, for a period not exceeding one year; are these contracts for a year ever entered into by the agricultural labourers?—Never.

610. What is the longest contract you have known entered into?—I have never heard of any exceeding a day.

611. Is there not, then, a single farm-servant engaged even for a month to perform all the little jobs of sweeping and cleaning out yards, emptying of cattle-pens, &c., and are all these performed by a day-labourer?—They are engaged by the day only.

612. Will it be possible to carry on the cultivation of sugar with the same economy and precision as formerly, without contracts of service for a limited period, such as are usual in agricultural districts in England?—I think not. I dare now make no preconceived arrangements to any extent, lest their execution should be defeated ultimately from the want of a command of labour.

613. Will no inducements of higher wages lead them to contract to serve by the month or quarter?—None but domestics have yet been induced to do it, and then only to the extent of a month. Agricultural labourers invariably refuse, and will never do it until increased numbers create a competition amongst them.

614. At present, then, you do not think there is a sufficiency of labourers in the district?—By no means. When men will only work four hours a day in the field, at high wages, it is clear that there is not a sufficiency of hands to excite competition.

615. You say you have 300 labourers on the estate; how many more would you wish to obtain to keep up your present cultivation in the best order, and take off your crops in proper time?—The number now on the estate is more than sufficient, if they would only work fairly nine hours out of crop, and fourteen in. Working as they do at present, I should require twice as many for the field-work; but no additional number will enable me to take off the crop in time, unless the mill and works can be kept in activity for fourteen hours, which cannot now be done, as I have in vain attempted to engage extra spells.

616. But under the circumstances in which you are placed, and without reference to what might occur, how many additional labourers would you think it advantageous to engage if you could?—I would with pleasure accept of the services of 150 more to-morrow.

617. What is the extent of the cultivation on your estate?—We have in canes, 430 acres, in pasture, 150, and in provisions, 70; altogether, 650 acres.

618. With this increased strength, would you not, then, increase your cultivation as well as improve it?—I would not attempt to extend it, if they work no better than at present; but I am always under the impression, that, with an increased number, they must ultimately be compelled to work better.

619. Are your seventy acres of provision grounds sufficient for the subsistence of 450 persons?—They do not at present furnish subsistence for more than half our present number, being not half cultivated or properly cropped, but with proper cultivation would be perfectly adequate to the subsistence of the whole number.

620. It would appear that the population upon the Orange Grove estate has increased fifty per cent. since emancipation; do you think it has increased to the same extent on other properties in the quarter?—I should think so, having no reason to believe the labourers would give me a preference.

621. Has there not been also a large increase of cottage settlers in the district?—Yes, the whole public road is lined with settlers.

622. What prices do they usually pay for the lots of land they purchase?—At the rate of about 320 dollars to 640 dollars (133*l.* 6*s.* sterling) per acre.

623. Is it generally sold as high throughout the district?—Only when sold in lots on the public road. A good deal of land has been sold behind these lots, and at no great distance, at 100 dollars the quarrée, or about 6*l.* 10*s.* sterling the acre; and further off the price is still lower. A short time since a tract of 1,000 to 1,200 acres was sold at the rate of 9*s.* 4*d.* sterling the acre, on the banks of Caroni, with water communication to Port of Spain, from which it is only twelve miles distant, and within two miles of the public road leading to it.

624. Have you ever made use of the plough on the Orange Grove estate?—About twenty years ago I made an experiment, and it was so far successful, that the land was well ploughed up; but there was no economy in it, as it required a number of extra hands to clear away stumps and roots to allow the plough to work. Since then all the canes planted have been in new land, where it was impossible to work a plough.

625. You are aware that the public in Britain expect a number of agricultural improvements to follow emancipation, which they think the institutions of slavery were calculated to impede; has that been the case?—Not as yet, whatever may be the case hereafter, when our emancipated labourers are made to work as freemen elsewhere. Instead of improvement in agriculture, every thing has retrograded since emancipation. No work is done now as well as it was formerly. The quality of the sugar has fallen off considerably, from the impossibility of commanding due care and attention either to the weeding in the field or to the skimming of the coppers. And this is a circumstance I forgot to notice when questioned as to the additional expense of working a sugar estate since emancipation. The quality of the Orange Grove sugar has deteriorated fully 5*s.* a cwt., making a loss of 4*l.* sterling a hogshead, or above 1,200*l.* sterling on the annual crops. No improvement in either agricultural or manufacturing processes can be expected, until a labourer who misconducts himself finds it difficult to obtain employment.

626. How long a time would it take to form a sugar estate in this colony, and produce a crop of 200 tons of sugar?—With a sufficiency of labour, it may be done in two and a half to three years, from the first cutting down of the forest timber.

627. Do you mean to have all the works and machinery erected, and the sugar ready for shipping within that time?—Yes, the canes would be planted and coming to maturity whilst the works were erecting.

628. Would there be any difficulty in doing this to any great extent; could fifty estates, for instance, producing 200 tons of sugar each, be established in the same time as one?—I can see no difficulty in it with a sufficient number of labourers. The whole island could be converted into sugar estates in that time. Every material for the first buildings could be found on the spot; and the cattle required for

the cultivation could be procured from the Spanish Main, from whence our present supply is always derived.

*John Butter, Esq.*, called in, and examined.

629. How long have you resided in this colony, and in what profession?—I am a member of the College of Surgeons of London, and of Apothecaries' Hall. I have resided in this colony seven years as a medical practitioner, above one-half of the time in the rural districts; and I have been resident surgeon in charge of the colonial hospital in Port of Spain since its establishment on the 1st July 1840.

630. Is the colonial hospital the only one in the colony?—It is.

631. What is the extent of your accommodation for patients?—We can accommodate 100 easily.

632. Have you ever had that number in the hospital?—We have never exceeded eighty, and the average number per day during the twelve months has been forty-one.

633. Do you consider the hospital, then, to be adequate to the purposes for which it was intended?—As to the extent of accommodation, it has been equal to our wants, and will answer in a temporary way; but it was never built for the purpose, and wants many necessary conveniences, which can easily be provided in the new building, which it is understood will be erected.

634. What has been the number of your patients, and are they classed under different heads as they enter, distinguishing natives from immigrants?—I keep a registry, in which is entered name, age, and country of the persons admitted. Within the twelve months we have admitted

427 European immigrants,  
105 United States' "  
83 Creoles of Trinidad, and other West India Islands.

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615

Of which - 501 have been cured.  
69 deaths.  
5 dismissed for irregularities.  
40 remaining in hospital.

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635. Do you not class the patients according to their sexes?—I have not kept a separate registry; but there are separate apartments for the females, the whole number of which I do not think have exceeded thirty, amongst whom there were only four deaths.

636. Has your mortality been in a greater ratio than in hospitals in England?—Yes, nearly double; arising chiefly from the circumstance that nearly one-half of those returned as dead were brought into the hospital in a dying state; they were in fact brought in to be buried.

637. As you have kept a registry of their country, you can state the comparative mortality amongst the various immigrants; in which class has it been greatest?—Among the French and Germans, the mortality has been five to one as compared with the coloured immigrants.

638. From your present experience, do you think these European immigrants will ever answer as labourers in this climate, looking to the advantages which they might derive from the change of country, without reference to the interests or wants of this colony?—I fear not; not that I apprehend that the climate in itself would prove so fatal, but they are of the lowest grade, without education or discretion, and are addicted to drinking in excess. Under these circumstances, I should never think it advantageous for themselves or us to introduce them.

639. Have you any remarks to make upon the relative mortality of the other classes of immigrants?—Nothing particular; a greater proportion of patients from the United States have been admitted, which I attribute to their having no friends and relatives in the island, and more disposed in consequence to seek relief in the hospital; but the mortality amongst them has not been greater than amongst our natives or the immigrants from the old islands.

640. Have you had in the hospital any of the Sierra Leone people who have now been in the colony above two months?—Only one, which was a surgical case, a little girl, struck and slightly injured by a carriage in the streets.

641. Have you had on the hospital list any of the liberated Africans, who, to the number of about 1,000, were landed here five or six years ago?—Only three; and I really believe them to be the healthiest class of people in the island, even more so than the Creoles. I do not judge merely from the hospital list, but I have occasion to know, that they follow more exclusively than any other persons the trade of wood-cutting for the supply of Port of Spain with fuel, the whole of which is taken from the large swamp to the eastward; and I think that no other class of labourers in the island could support as they do the marsh miasma to which they are continually exposed. During my residence at Cedros and Guapo, I had from two to three hundred of these people under my charge, immediately on landing after their arrival from Cuba. Many of them were in a wretched, emaciated condition; but they improved gradually from the first moment of their arrival, and, so far as my recollection serves me, there was not a single death amongst them. In general, you can recognize the liberated Africans before you see their country marks, by their stout and healthy appearance.

642. As you have had, then, good opportunities of making yourself acquainted with this class, do you consider them upon the whole to be a manageable, orderly set of people?—Perfectly so.

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TUESDAY, 20th JULY, 1841.

*Port of Spain.*

The Honourable W. H. BURNLEY in the Chair.

*Rowley Hill Stewart, Esq., called in, and examined.*

643. WHAT official situation do you fill in this colony, and how long have you resided here?—I have resided here since 1827: from 1834 to 1838, I acted as assistant and deputy harbour-master, and in June of the latter year was appointed to the office on the resignation of my predecessor.

644. In addition to your ordinary duties, have you not some charge and control over the Spanish launches arriving from the opposite coast?—They report themselves to me immediately on arrival, and sign a written statement of their cargo before me, instead of the collector of the customs, which statement is subsequently sent by me to the custom-house, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any portion of the cargo is liable to duty.

645. Has the trade with the Spanish Main increased at all since you first acted in 1834?—So far as appears by my books, the trade has generally increased since that period.

646. Do you not, then, rely upon the returns in your books as perfectly correct?—As far as the imports go, they are so; but, with respect to the exports, there has always been a disposition amongst the class of persons engaged in this trade to conceal the amount of their exports, from no cause existing here, as no duty whatever is paid on them.

647. You think the amount of the trade is increasing generally; but has there been any great variation in any particular branch of it?—In one branch, that of imported vegetables and provisions, the increase has been great within the last few years, and particularly so from the end of 1833 until the present period; for instance, the quantity of plantains imported in 1825 into the harbour of Port of Spain amounted only to 159,700; in 1835, it increased to 2,026,700; and, in 1840, to 4,332,900. Hogs during the same period have increased from 1,095 to 4,913. Fowls, from 86 dozens to 860 dozens. Turkeys, from 87 to 1,081 pair. The import of dried peas, goats, eggs and other minor articles, have all increased in about the same proportion; and the number of horned cattle, which was only 734 in 1825, amounted in 1840 to 4,320, having nearly doubled since 1835.

648. Do we receive vegetables and provisions from any other part of the world?—No yams are brought from the Spanish Main, but large quantities are introduced from Grenada and St. Vincent's, which trade has altogether arisen within the last three years. We import, besides, Indian corn to a great extent, and dried peas from

the United States, besides flour, the quantity of which has immensely increased within the last two or three years, as the returns from the custom-house will show.

649. To what do you ascribe this immense increase of imported provisions?—Partly to the increase in population, but chiefly to the circumstance of the cultivation of provisions being latterly less attended to by the labouring population, who, from the high wages given, find it easier to buy than to raise them. Port of Spain, which was formerly supplied from estates in the island, is now in a great degree fed by imported provisions; and I know as a fact, that the town of San Fernando, which formerly received its supplies of vegetables and provisions from the neighbouring districts, is now not only furnished from abroad, but the labourers from the estates in the interior come into town to supply themselves.

650. In what way are these imported supplies paid for?—It is a retail trade at the wharf, and paid for in money; but the whole amount is finally taken away in British goods. The inhabitants on the adjoining parts of the Spanish Main receive from us almost every description of agricultural and domestic articles; and latterly it has embraced objects not known before, such as wine, porter, loaf-sugar, and even Irish potatoes, when new and abundant.

651. How are returns made for the imported provisions from Grenada and St. Vincent's?—Principally in Irish butter, lard and flour, with some French olive oil and candles, and a small quantity of dry goods.

652. As harbour-master, and visiting all vessels on arrival, you have an opportunity of seeing all immigrants which come in?—I am officially directed to take the names of all persons coming in, distinguishing labourers from others, and to send in a list of the same to Government-house.

653. Is the number of immigrants increasing?—The number has gradually increased since the first publication of the Immigration Ordinance. For the last twelve months it has continued steadily at the rate of 300 per month.

654. Have you ever had occasion to observe that the immigrants had suffered any hardships or privations during the voyage?—None whatever; they come as comfortably as other passengers, and are not of a disposition to submit to any privations, for which they well know how to procure redress. Besides, the vessels bringing them principally belong to the islands from whence they come, and they are well acquainted with the captains, whose interest is to make them comfortable.

655. Do they ever suffer from want of employment on arrival?—On the contrary, such is the competition to secure them, that but for a regulation which prevents it, the employers would board the immigrant vessels to engage their services, before I had officially visited them; and I know that a premium is now given of five dollars (20s. 10d.) per head to persons who have influence enough to engage them, and this without any contract on their part to serve for any specific time, so that they may, and very frequently do, leave the parties engaging them immediately afterwards.

656. Do you consider the harbour of Port of Spain in every respect safe and good?—Perfectly so; it is land-locked; the water

always smooth, the holding ground excellent. Ships seldom require more than one anchor down, and not a single accident has occurred in it, from wind or weather, since I assumed the duties of the office in 1834.

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*Thomas F. Johnston, Esq., called in, and examined.*

657. How long have you resided in this colony, and in what capacity?—I have resided here fifteen years, filling successively various Government appointments, and am at present assistant colonial secretary, clerk of the council, and agent-general of immigrants.

658. When was the first Immigration Ordinance passed in this colony?—In November 1838. In April 1839, another ordinance, annulling the former, was passed, and, with subsequent amendments from the Colonial-office, is now in force.

659. What has been the whole number of immigrants received in this colony under the ordinance?—By this return which I have brought to the Committee, the total number received and paid for, from 1st January 1839 to 30th June 1841, amounts to 3,879, and the sum paid for their passages to 12,637 *l.* sterling.

660. But have not a large number of immigrants arrived who are not included in that statement?—A great number, being those whose passages were not paid under the ordinance in consequence of the sexes not being equal, and, in some cases, from an excess of number in proportion to the tonnage.

661. By whom in these cases was the passage-money paid?—I believe chiefly by the proprietors who engaged their services, and in some cases by themselves.

662. Can you state the total number of those who were thus rejected?—Including 1,200 Germans and Maltese, the whole number is 2,600. Besides which, during the same period, about 4,000 persons have arrived under the head of passengers, servants, mechanics, transients, &c., of which, I believe, more than one-third have remained in the colony, so that the whole number of immigrants arrived within the last two years and a half may be estimated at about 8,000.

663. But are you not aware that many immigrants besides have been landed down the coast who were never reported to you, nor the passage-money claimed, the employers below preferring to pay it rather than run the risk of their being enticed away in Port of Spain?—I have heard of such cases having occurred, but can form no idea of their number.

664. As it is your duty to visit the immigrants immediately on arrival, please to state if any cases of distress or privation have occurred during the voyage, which you have found it necessary to report?—In no case whatever has any complaint been made by immigrants arriving here, and from my own personal observation I may say that every care has been taken to make them comfortable, without which the captains know they would forfeit the passage-money.

665. Has the regulation in the Immigration Ordinance, which provides that necessary and proper accommodation shall be found for



them on shore, in case of the immigrants not finding immediate employment, ever been acted upon?—Never for that purpose, for such is the demand for labour, that no sooner than a vessel arrives, but their services are immediately engaged.

666. Do you think the competition for their services continues as great as ever?—I think it does.

667. Have you had any opportunities of ascertaining whether these immigrants are enabled to lay by money immediately on arrival?—They get the same wages as others, and can all lay by money if of a saving disposition; but as to particular instances, I am only acquainted with the following circumstance: Some time since, I acted temporarily for the escribano of the Court of Intendant in the sale of some Government land, and among the purchasers were five American immigrants, who paid each from 120 to 160 dollars (33*l.* 6*s.* sterling) for lots they purchased, although they had not been twelve months in the colony.

668. As you must frequently meet with them again some time after their arrival, have any amongst them made any reasonable complaints against the colony or their employers?—None as against the country, which they all appear to like much; and the only serious complaint, which I regret, however, to say is a very frequent one, is that of being denied medicines and medical attendance when sick on estates; and I have seen numerous instances of their being sent up to town to find their way to the hospital when in a wretched, low state, and this in cases where they had been promised both as part of the agreement. In fact, no immigrant arrives here without being cautioned by me, at the express desire of the Governor, not to engage their services but to persons who will engage to provide them with medicines and medical attendance.

669. In the cases you allude to of breach of engagements, why did they not immediately apply to the stipendiary magistrate for redress?—Principally, I think, from these promises having been verbal, or on slips of paper, and not in the proper form to enable them to recover before a magistrate.

670. Do you not consider it to be your first duty to point out to these immigrants, on arrival, the simple forms which our contracts for service require to render them binding?—I invariably inform them on arrival with the law regulating contracts for service, and tell them that it is entirely at their option to engage themselves or not for twelve months, six months, one month, or even a single day; also, that any contracts entered into before their arrival are null and void, and that they are free here to make fresh engagements with whom they please, with every other information they may require.

671. You consequently inform them, that a contract made for any period not less than a month requires to be signed before a magistrate, which will immediately make it legally binding upon all the parties; why do they not then insist upon the condition of medical attendance, which, from the competition for their services, they can easily do, and, to ensure it, enter into a contract for the short period of one month?—I believe that they have a decided objection to binding themselves to labour for any specified time, and prefer working by the task.

672. If, then, they will not contract to serve for a single day, can

they reasonably expect employers to incur heavy expenses if they fall sick?—In the case of the promise being made to the immigrant, he has a decided cause of complaint if it is not fulfilled.

673. But can you suppose that any sensible, reflecting man would bind himself to furnish medical attendance and nourishment to a labourer when sick and infirm, who, on his part, when in health and strength, will not bind himself for a single day?—No reflecting man would; but I have reason to believe that many such promises have been made and not fairly kept.

674. May not the mischief arise in some degree from so much pains being exclusively taken to impress upon the minds of immigrants, the moment they arrive, their right and freedom to abstain from all engagements, even for a day; and might it not be much more advantageous for these poor strangers if the Government instructed its officers earnestly to recommend to them at the same time the benefit, indeed necessity, of entering into contracts for the short period of a month, by which the unjustifiable and distressing cases you have mentioned would be avoided?—I can offer no opinion upon the question, and can only say, that I have strictly adhered to the instructions given to me on the subject.

675. Are you aware of any other just cause of complaint which you think immigrant labourers in this colony have against their employers?—I am not aware of any.

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## APPENDIX.

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### Appendix (A.)

CORRESPONDENCE with the Lieutenant-Governor,  
Colonel Sir *Henry Macleod*.

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Sir,

Richmond-street, 8th March 1841.

At a numerous meeting of the "AGRICULTURAL AND IMMIGRATION" Society of Trinidad, held on the 11th February last, after some preliminary discussion as to the necessity and advantage of furnishing information to the public in Great Britain, with respect to the actual state of agricultural affairs in this colony, and more particularly as to the real amount of wages paid to labourers, the meeting came to the following resolution:—

“ That a Sub-committee be appointed to inquire and  
“ report respecting the state of the agricultural interests of the  
“ colony since the abolition of apprenticeship in August  
“ 1838, their present condition and future prospects, and to  
“ recommend such measures as they may think conducive  
“ to the general prosperity.”

As no representation relative to these subjects can be expected to carry with it the weight and authority desired, unless supported by the best testimony which can be procured in the colony, I beg respectfully to request your Excellency's assistance in inducing the clergy, magistracy and public officers in general, to afford the Sub-committee the information they may require, whether in the shape of written or verbal evidence.

I beg the liberty of further stating to your Excellency, that I have now passed above one month in the colony, since my return from Europe and the United States, and clearly perceive, from the best observations and inquiries I have been enabled to make, that the most injurious consequences will ensue to the labouring classes, unless the present system of gratuitous allowances, in the shape of houses, provisions and spirits, is put an end

to. In consequence of paying no rent for his house, the labourer feels that he has no right of permanent residence in it; he views it only as a temporary shelter, not as a fixed home; and as he finds that he can change it whenever he pleases, and obtain another elsewhere on the same easy terms, he acquires restless habits, feels independent of the good-will of his employer, and entirely neglects the cultivation of vegetables, or the raising of small stock, notwithstanding their present exorbitant price, and the abundance of spare time at his disposal. By the adoption of a moderate charge for rent, adequate only to the cost of the house and land provided for him, he will probably begin to attach some value to a residence for which he pays a consideration, and will gradually see the advantage of making himself permanently settled and comfortable.

The distribution also of salt provisions, flour, rice, &c., tends to create unthrifty habits. The labourer receives them, not in proportion to his wants, or the extent of his family, but in proportion to the labour he may perform. He frequently may receive more than he actually requires, but if the surplus does not constitute an object of easy and ready sale, it will, of course, be wastefully disposed of. By suppressing all allowances, and charging a moderate rent for his house, a higher rate of money wages could and would be cheerfully paid by the proprietor. The labourer would then be rewarded exactly in proportion to his industry, and would purchase only the quantity and quality of every article he might desire.

But of all the allowances granted, that of rum is the most intolerable in its accompanying circumstances, and the most alarming in its future consequences, and, unless immediately checked, will be productive of the most serious evils to the whole community.

As the commutation which I have suggested requires the substitution of an increased money rate of wages in lieu of the allowances specified, your Excellency will readily perceive the difficulties which oppose themselves to its being effected by any effort of the proprietors alone. Independently of the distrust which for a series of years past has been systematically infused into the minds of the labourers of these colonies (by those who have assumed to themselves exclusively the title of the friends of the negro) as to the motives and objects of every effort of the planters,—which constitutes at the present moment a great and unfortunate barrier to the improvement of our free-labour system by any exertions of the latter,—it is clearly advantageous that a third and disinterested party should intervene between them and the labouring class for the satisfactory adjustment of this question. And when it is further considered, that the change proposed will appear to many to involve in some degree the abandonment of old habits of vicious indulgence, it will require, I fear, the united influence of the executive, the clergy and the magistracy

ultimately to effect it; at the same time, it is equally evident, that the longer the attempt is deferred, the greater will be the difficulty in accomplishing it.

Having felt it to be my duty thus to point out to your Excellency the evils which appear to me to exist, I have now only to assure you, that the members of the society are prepared, cordially and vigorously, to assist, by every means in their power, in the promotion of any measures which the colonial government may think best adapted for their suppression.

I have the honour to be,  
Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,  
*William H. Burnley,*  
Chairman of the Agricultural and Immigration Society.

To his Excellency Sir Henry Macleod,  
&c. &c. &c.

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Government House, 18th March 1841.

Sir,—I am directed by the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, containing a resolution of the Agricultural and Immigration Society of Trinidad, and requesting his Excellency's assistance in desiring the different public officers to afford the information the Sub-committee may require, in order that the actual state of agricultural affairs in this colony, and more particularly as to the real amount of wages paid to the labourers, should be furnished to the British public.

His Excellency is most happy to comply with this request, and has directed the public officers to give the fullest information in their power; but recommends, in order to ensure the most impartial reply, that the questions intended to be put should be sent through this office.

You proceed to remark on the injurious consequences likely to ensue from the present mode of paying part of the wages of labour in kind—that is, the allowance of houses, grounds, provisions and spirits.

From the moment of the abolition of slavery, his Excellency always viewed this as an unsound practice, but in his endeavours to obtain an alteration of the system, he was told that the people had been so long in the habit of living in the houses, as their own property, that any thing in the shape of rent would produce discontent.

With regard to the allowance of provisions and rum, his Excellency apprehends they are given only in this colony and British Guiana, at least, to any amount, but coincides most perfectly with you in the view taken of this subject, which his

Excellency is glad to find you state to be the opinion of the society.

The allowance of rum, particularly, has been universally represented to the Governor as demoralising in the extreme; and in a conversation which his Excellency lately had with three gentlemen of the Society of Friends, who came here from Baltimore, the necessity of doing away with it was strongly urged by them.

These gentlemen came here in consequence of the discrepancy of the accounts published in the United States, and for the purpose of judging for themselves of the state of this colony and of the American immigrants, and distinctly stated *that this was the only thing they had to find fault with*, for in every other particular they were bound to give their unqualified approbation.

Strongly impressed, however, as the Governor is with the necessity of a change in this part of the system, there are very great difficulties attending it, which will be unnecessary to state here, but for which the employer alone can find a remedy; for his Excellency would deprecate any attempt at legislative enactment as regards rates or modes of labour; this must be left to find its own level.

I have the honour to be, sir,  
Your most obedient humble servant,

*Arthur White,*

To the Hon. W. H. Burnley.

Colonial Secretary.

Port of Spain, 23d March 1841.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 18th instant, and beg you to present to his Excellency the Governor the thanks of the Committee of the Agricultural and Immigration Society for his ready attention to their wishes, in directing the public officers to furnish the fullest information in their power on all subjects relating to the inquiry they are about to institute.

His Excellency's recommendations the Committee will always be disposed to follow, but in the present instance they beg respectfully to observe, that to frame beforehand written questions to be sent through your office, would require on their part a previous knowledge of the subject to be investigated, far more perfect than they can as yet pretend to possess. It was, in fact, a sense of their ignorance on various points intimately connected with the future improvement and welfare of the colony, which partly dictated the necessity of commencing an inquiry for the purpose of enlightening themselves and the public upon the subject; and, under all circumstances, a large proportion, possibly a majority of the questions which may be put to a witness,

will naturally be suggested by the tenor of his replies. I beg to remark that the request contained in my letter of the 8th instant, to his Excellency the Governor, was limited to his inducing the public officers to afford the requisite information, and the Committee look for nothing more than such an expression of his opinion in favour of the inquiry instituted, as may induce those gentlemen readily to furnish all the documentary and personal evidence in their power. Their attendance before the Committee will, of course, be voluntary; they will be free to decline answering any questions they please, and, during any stage of the inquiry, will be admitted to explain or qualify any previous portions of their evidence should they deem it necessary. If his Excellency desire it, the Committee will furnish you, besides, with copies of the whole, as fast as the same is proceeded in, enabling, by these means, any officer of the Government to tender such further information as a correct and impartial judgment of the whole subject may appear to require. Under this arrangement, the Committee respectfully hope that his Excellency will have no objection to the attendance of any of the public officers invited, and to their giving their evidence in the usual mode which prevails in all inquiries conducted by committees in Great Britain.

The Committee never entertained the slightest doubt of his Excellency's entire concurrence in their view of the injurious consequences to all parties, and more particularly to the labouring class, arising out of the present practice of paying part of the wages of labour in house-rent, grounds, provisions and spirits; but they observe with regret that he thinks the employer alone can provide a remedy for the evil complained of. Allow me to assure you that this subject was previously considered by the Committee with much attention, and it was only the conviction of our inability to apply a remedy without the assistance of the Government, which prescribed the necessity of laying the whole matter before his Excellency for consideration.

In my last communication I pointed out the difficulty of such an undertaking, in consequence of the distrust unhappily infused into the minds of the labourers throughout the West India colonies, with respect to the motives of their employers; and I now beg the liberty of adding, that a serious impediment to any combined effort on the part of the proprietors in this island has been created by the peculiar form of our government, which, thoroughly and completely centralized as it is, has long deprived the inhabitants of the habit of co-operation, and at the same time has naturally generated an opinion that whatever the executive will not take the lead in promoting, it is not disposed to encourage. And when, in addition to this difficulty, it is further considered that some few individuals are to be found in every community actuated by views of personal interest alone, without regard to moral considerations, who would immediately

reap great pecuniary advantage at the expense of the more conscientious portion of the community, by privately evading all the necessary measures proposed, the Committee cannot flatter themselves with the expectation that any remedy can be successfully applied to the evils complained of, without the direct aid and intervention of the Government.

The Committee equally deprecate with his Excellency any attempt to regulate rates or modes of labour by legislative enactments,—an idea which they have never entertained, and which they would be the last to advocate; but at the same time they believe that the delivery of goods and spirits, in lieu of money, for payment of wages, usually denominated the truck system, may be put down here, as it was in Great Britain, by legislative enactments,—although this marked difference exists in the two cases, that in the latter country the measure was effected in opposition to the wishes of the employers, the great majority of whom in this colony would, on the contrary, heartily concur in its adoption, whilst the principal obstacle to be met with here would arise from the discontent and hostility of the labourers, which the employers alone, and unassisted by the Government, would never dare to encounter.

The Committee entirely agree with his Excellency in opinion, that the injurious system complained of prevails only in Trinidad and Guiana, and not in the other British colonies—a distinction which clearly proves that it arises from no fault of the proprietors, whose interests in this respect are the same throughout the West Indies, but from other causes over which they have no control. In Barbados, Antigua and elsewhere, a dense population creates a competition amongst the labourers for employment, which renders them, in some degree, dependent upon the good-will and influence of the proprietors; whilst in this colony a totally opposite state of society prevails. This difference, from whence all our present evils flow, is mainly to be attributed to the legislation of the mother-country, which, for a series of years, opposed the transfer of labour from one colony to another, and prevented its seeking its natural level. In some places, therefore, it is abundant, whilst in Trinidad and Guiana it is so scarce, as to enable the labourer to dictate his own terms, which, instead of ultimately proving beneficial, is now exhibiting such demoralizing results, as to fill the reflecting portion of the community with alarm.

The Committee respectfully observe that this evil might have been obviated, if, at the abolition of apprenticeship, Government had abandoned the restrictions which prevented labour from seeking its natural level, and had permitted immigration into this colony from all parts of the world. It would have created a wholesome competition for employment among the labourers, and have given to proprietors the power of adopting measures calculated to check the idleness, extravagance and immorality



which at present so fearfully prevail. But as this course was, unhappily, resisted, the only palliative remaining (for it can never effect a cure whilst wages continue so high) is to endeavour, by the united efforts of the colonial government and the proprietors, to substitute a money rate of wages in lieu of payments in kind,—a measure notoriously so unpalatable to the labourers, that the Committee are satisfied it will never be accepted, or even patiently listened to if proposed by the proprietors alone, who, in many respects, are now divested of all power and influence.

The Committee are indeed gratified to hear that intelligent and pious foreigners, who have recently visited us for the purpose of ascertaining the state and condition of our immigrants, have expressed to his Excellency the Governor their unqualified approbation of all they have seen, excepting only the distribution of rum, which constitutes the most aggravated feature of the evil of which the Committee now complain. This testimony, it is hoped, will destroy the misrepresentations so scandalously invented and industriously circulated elsewhere, respecting the treatment and condition of our immigrants, and cannot fail, the Committee feel assured, of giving an additional stimulus to our exertions to put down a practice, which they admit to be the only fault to be found in the free labour system established in this colony.

I have respectfully to request, on the part of the Committee, that you will lay this communication before his Excellency the Governor.

I have the honour to be, sir,  
Your obedient humble servant,  
*William H. Burnley.*

The Hon. Arthur White.

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(Copy.)

13th April 1841.

My dear Sir,—Permit me to bring to your recollection a document which I lately transmitted through you for his Excellency from the chairman of the Agricultural Society.

As his Excellency has been for some time absent from town, it may have escaped his observation. I am going down to Naparima for a week or more.

Yours very truly,  
(signed) *John Losh,*  
Secretary to the Agricultural Society.

The Hon. Arthur White.

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Government House, 13th April 1841.

My dear Sir,—I put the letter before the Governor, and he has now before him your note to me, but he is much engaged preparing for the packet.

His Excellency, however, says that the case does not appear in any new light before him, and although he does not object to any public officer being examined, he cannot permit the stipendiary magistrates to be brought out of their districts to attend a Committee of the Agricultural Society.

There are one or two close to Port of Spain, who he imagines could always be found without interfering in their duties.

I am, my dear sir,  
Always yours faithfully,

Hon. John Losh, &c. &c.

*Arthur White.*

24th April 1841.

Sir,—Your note of the 13th instant was laid before the Committee of the Agricultural Society, and I have been directed to inquire whether the same is to be considered as a definitive reply to the chairman's communication to you of the 23d March last.

I have the honour to be, sir,  
Your obedient humble servant,

To the Hon. Arthur White. (signed) *John Losh.*

Government House, 26th April 1841.

Sir,—Mr. Losh having addressed a note to me on the 24th instant, I referred it to the Governor, and I am directed to say that his Excellency, having received your letter as explanatory of a former one, had not intended to reply to it. It would be needless for his Excellency to enter into the contents of the letter now before him, as the case does not appear to him to be placed in any new point of view. But I am desired to assure the gentlemen of the Agricultural Society, that the allowance of rum, which by all is confessed to produce such lamentable consequences, has much fixed the Governor's attention, and continues to be matter of consideration how this evil may be abated, without such interference as might cause, as you observe, the discontent and hostility of the labouring population.

I am, sir,  
Your most obedient humble servant,

*Arthur White,*

Colonial Secretary.

The Hon. William H. Burnley,  
Chairman of the Agricultural Society, &c. &c. &c.

(Copy.)

Port of Spain, 7th July 1841.

Sir,—I am directed by the Committee of the Agricultural and Immigration Society to request that you will communicate, respectfully, to his Excellency the Governor, that as the labours of the Committee are now drawing towards a close, they will be happy to invite the attendance of any gentleman whom his Excellency may please to name, as competent to give additional information on the subjects inquired into, or to set any of them in a clearer or more impartial point of view.

I have the honour to be, sir,  
Your obedient humble servant,

(signed) *John Losh*,  
Secretary Immigration and Agricultural Society.

The Hon. Arthur White,  
Colonial Secretary.

(Copy.)

Government House, 9th July 1841.

Sir,—I am directed by the Governor to acquaint you, in reply to your note to me of the 7th instant, that when his Excellency granted permission to the public officers to attend the meetings of the Committee of the Immigration Society, he was under the impression that this Committee had been appointed for the purpose of procuring and “furnishing information to the public in Great Britain, with respect to the actual state of agricultural affairs in this colony, and more particularly as to the real amount of wages paid to the labourers;” but as it now appears to the Governor that the investigations of the Committee have extended to a much wider field, his Excellency declines any participation in its proceedings.

I have the honour to be, sir,  
Your most obedient humble servant,

*Arthur White*,  
Colonial Secretary.

The Hon. John Losh.

(Copy.)

Port of Spain, 12th July 1841.

Sir,—Your communication of the 9th instant, to the Secretary of the Agricultural and Immigration Society, was forwarded to me in the district of Tacarigua, which has delayed its earlier acknowledgment. On the 8th of March last, I had the honour to communicate to his Excellency the Governor, a copy of the resolutions passed at the public meeting held on the 11th of February preceding, which I again take the liberty to repeat:—

“ That a Sub-committee be appointed to inquire and  
 “ report respecting the state of the agricultural interests of  
 “ the colony since the abolition of apprenticeship in August  
 “ 1838, their present condition and future prospects, and  
 “ to recommend such measures as they may think con-  
 “ ducive to the general prosperity.”

The Committee, in performance of the task thus imposed upon them, felt it to be their duty to occupy the widest field which the subject required, whilst, they trust, they have abstained from overstepping its legitimate boundaries. They have spared no pains to render the inquiry as useful and complete as possible. They have held their sittings not only in Port of Spain, but in the most populous rural districts, for the purpose of obtaining the best local evidence, with the least inconvenience to the parties examined. They have given entire publicity to their proceedings, that their scope, drift and tendency might be manifest, and that every individual in the community might be furnished with an opportunity of tendering such further evidence, as a more perfect elucidation of the subject might appear to require.

They are aware that in this colony no measure, however beneficial, can be assured of success, unless countenanced by the executive; and under this feeling his Excellency's assistance in inducing the public officers to furnish information was solicited by me on the 8th of March, and frankly accorded by him in your reply of the 18th; and the Committee would indeed experience deep regret to find that by any of their subsequent proceedings they had ceased to merit this mark of his favour. In your communication of the 18th March alluded to, and in the same paragraph conveying his Excellency's assent to the examination of the public officers, he distinctly intimated to the Committee the propriety of observing impartiality in the course of their inquiry; and they subsequently felt themselves bound to afford him an opportunity of ensuring it, by sending other parties (if he thought the case required it) to qualify or amend the evidence previously obtained. From this motive alone, the secretary of the Committee was directed to address his communi-

cation to you of the 7th instant, and from no desire to draw his Excellency into any participation of our proceedings, or to relieve me from the slightest portion of the responsibility which necessarily devolves upon me as chairman of the Committee.

I have the honour to request that you will communicate this letter respectfully to his Excellency the Governor.

I am, with esteem, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(signed) *William H. Burnley,*

Chairman of the Agricultural and Immigration Society.

The Hon. Arthur White.

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## Appendix (B.)

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THE following Despatch is published by authority from his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor :

Sir,

Downing-street, 30th January 1836.

THE accounts which I have received from time to time of the conduct and industry of the apprentices appear to prove that cultivation may be possibly carried on in the West Indies as long as the apprenticeship lasts, and afford much encouragement to hope that full and complete emancipation will be attended with beneficial results both to the employers and the labouring population. Some precautionary measures, however, seem to be required in order to guard against that degree of danger to the value of property, or the more permanent interests of society, which can scarcely fail to attach to so great and important a transition.

It must not be forgotten that the conditions under which society has hitherto existed will, on the expiration of the apprenticeship, undergo an essential change. During slavery, labour could be compelled to go wherever it promised most profit to the employer; under the new system it will find its way wherever it promises most profit to the labourer. If, therefore, we are to keep up the cultivation of the staple productions, we must make it the immediate and apparent interest of the negro population to employ their labour in raising them.

There is reason to apprehend that at the termination of the apprenticeship this will not be the case. Where there is land enough to yield an abundant subsistence to the whole population in return for slight labour, they will probably have no sufficient inducement to prefer the more toilsome existence of a

regular labourer, whatever may be its remote advantages, or even its immediate gains. Should things be left to their natural course, labour would not be attracted to the cultivation of exportable produce, until population began to press upon the means of subsistence, and the land failed (without a more assiduous and economical culture) to supply all its occupants with the necessaries of life. As soon as a natural labouring population should thus arise, and the growing necessity of making the most of the land should ensure the proper application of their labour, it might be expected that the present staples would again be brought into cultivation. But the depreciation which would take place in property, and the rude state into which society would fall back in the meantime, make it desirable to adopt measures to check this apparently natural course.

How far it may be possible to check it effectually, it is not easy to determine. But by diminishing the facilities of obtaining land, it may certainly be impeded. It is true that where so much unoccupied land belongs to private persons, it is difficult to make any arrangement which will ensure the proper distribution of it; nor am I prepared at present to recommend any definite measure for that purpose, which may be free from inconvenience. But it is of great importance in the meantime that the evil should not be aggravated by the inconsiderate neglect or the incautious distribution of those lands which are at the disposal of the Crown.

In order to prevent this, it will be necessary to prevent the occupation of any Crown lands by persons not possessing a proprietary title to them; and to fix such a price upon all Crown lands as may place them out of the reach of persons without capital. The specific regulations by which this may be best effected will probably vary with the local circumstances of each colony. It is my present object to explain to you the nature and grounds of the measure, that you may be enabled to examine those circumstances in their true bearing upon the question, and to arrange the details accordingly.

It would appear that a country is, then, in its most prosperous state when there is as much labour in the market as can be profitably employed. In new countries, where the whole unoccupied territory belongs to the Crown, and settlers are continually flowing in, it is possible, by fixing the price of fresh land so high as to place it above the reach of the poorest class of settlers, to keep the labour market in its most prosperous state from the beginning. This precaution, by ensuring a supply of labourers at the same time that it increases the value of the land, makes it more profitable to cultivate old land well, than to purchase new. The natural tendency of the population to spread over the surface of the country, each man settling where he may, or roving from place to place in pursuit of virgin soil, is thus impeded. The territory, expanding only with the pressure of

population, is commensurate with the actual wants of the entire community. Society being thus kept together is more open to civilizing influences, more directly under the control of Government, more full of the activity which is inspired by common wants, and the strength which is derived from the division of labour, and altogether is in a sounder state, morally, politically, and economically, than if left to pursue its natural course.

This policy has of late years been pursued with very good results in our North American and Australian colonies; and there is no doubt that it may be applied with advantage in the West Indies also. It cannot indeed be expected to be either so simple or so effectual in its operation, owing to the existing relations of West Indian society contracted under a different system; to the alternately neglected and exhausted state in which the long operation of an opposite policy has left the already appropriated territory; to the unnatural condition of the labouring population; and to the artificial channels in which productive industry has hitherto been confined. It is probable that the particular regulations which have been found to answer in the possessions alluded to may not be applicable to so different a state of things. Of this, however, within the limits of your government you are the most competent judge. I have, therefore, to request that you will take the matter into your earliest consideration, and that you will then submit to me, in detail, the arrangements which you may recommend as best calculated to carry the views of his Majesty's Government into effect in the colony under your care.

One general regulation, however, I am prepared immediately to enforce,—that in future no Crown land shall be disposed of to private individuals' otherwise than by public sale, a minimum price being fixed, but this price not to be accepted until, upon proper notice, it shall appear that no one is prepared to offer more; the highest bidder being in all cases entitled to the preference; ten per cent. upon the whole purchase money to be paid down at the time of sale, and the remainder at an early period after the sale, and previously to possession being granted.

The rules to be observed in surveying and portioning out the lands, the number of acres which should make up a lot, and the amount of the minimum price, it will be for you to suggest. It is not impossible that different parts of the colony under your charge may require different sets of regulations, according to the quality or produce of the soil, the vicinity of towns or rivers, the advancement of the population in the refinements of civilized life, and its greater or less density. On these points I can offer you no other guide than a reference to the object which the proposed measure is intended to effect. That object is not to force the cultivation of the present staples by depriving the negroes of every other resource for subsistence; but merely to condense and

keep together the population in such a manner that it may always contain a due proportion of labourers. When that is the case, the most profitable produce will always afford the highest wages, and the highest wages will always draw the largest supply of labour. To discourage the extension of cultivation, or to confine it to any particular field, is by no means desirable. But some security should, if possible, be taken, that all the territory which is cultivated at all shall be cultivated well. The minimum price of land, therefore, should be high enough to leave a considerable portion of the population unable to buy it until they have saved some capital out of the wages of their industry; and at the same time low enough to encourage such savings by making the possession of land a reasonable object of ambition to all.

I have already intimated that the large tracts of unimproved and unoccupied land which belong to private persons, though they will interfere with the efficacy of the measure, do not diminish its necessity. I am, therefore, unwilling to encumber the subject with a reference to matters which may be reserved for separate consideration. Many of those persons must, however, be deeply interested in the success of the policy which I have pointed out, and may probably be induced to enter into the views of Government, and to make such cessions or adopt such regulations as may be of advantage to all parties. In pursuing your inquiries on the immediate subject of this despatch, you will naturally be drawn into communication with them; and you will not fail to recommend any practicable arrangements by which you think the speedy and effectual operation of the measure may be promoted.

In many cases serious difficulties will occur in securing unsold lands for the future from the intrusion of usurpers and squatters. You will not omit to notice the nature and extent of those difficulties in the colony under your care, and the measures by which they may be most conveniently overcome.

I have further to request that your communications on this subject may be accompanied by the best information which you can obtain as to the extent and value of the Crown lands under your government, and the proportion of them which is already occupied by persons without legal title.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

*Glenelg.*

Right Honourable Sir G. F. Hill, Bart.

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## Appendix (C.)

By His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir  
*George Fitzgerald Hill*, Baronet, Colonel of  
 the Londonderry Regiment of Militia, Lieu-  
 tenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief  
 in and over the said Island and its Depen-  
 dencies, Vice-Admiral thereof, &c. &c. &c.

(L.S.) G. F. HILL.

## A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS Her Majesty was pleased, by and with the advice  
 of Her Privy Council, on the 6th day of October last, to make  
 a certain Order in the terms following; that is to say :

“ AT THE COURT AT WINDSOR,

6th OF OCTOBER, 1838.

Present,

THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

LORD CHANCELLOR.

LORD PRESIDENT.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

VISCOUNT MELBOURNE.

LORD GLENELG.

SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, Bart.

“ WHEREAS in the colonies of British Guiana, Trinidad, St. Lucia  
 and Mauritius, divers persons, without probable claim or pretence  
 of title, have taken possession of lands therein respectively situate,  
 and it is necessary that provisions be made for the prevention of  
 such encroachments; it is therefore ordered by The Queen's most  
 Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice of Her Privy Council,  
 that the stipendiary justices of the peace within the said colonies  
 respectively, shall, in manner hereinafter mentioned, exercise a  
 summary jurisdiction for the removal of all persons who have so  
 taken, or shall take, possession of any lands from the lands of  
 which they may so have taken, or shall take, possession in such  
 colonies respectively, subject nevertheless to the provisions here-  
 inafter mentioned.

“ And it is further ordered, that for the purposes and within the  
 meaning of this present order, such persons only shall be con-  
 sidered, and be entitled to act, as stipendiary justices of the  
 peace as are entitled to act in that capacity under certain orders  
 of Her Majesty in Council, bearing date the 7th day of Sep-

tember 1838, for regulating contracts of hired service, and for the prevention and punishment of vagrancy within the colonies aforesaid.

“ And it is further ordered, that it shall be lawful for every such stipendiary justice of the peace to receive any information which may be laid before him upon oath, charging any person or persons with having, without probable claim or pretence of title, entered upon or taken possession of any lands in any of the said respective colonies: Provided, that if the lands mentioned or referred to in any such information shall belong to or be vested in Her Majesty, Her heirs or successors, such information shall be preferred by the Surveyor-general of the colony, or by some person acting under his authority and on his behalf; but that if the lands mentioned or referred to in any such information shall belong to or be vested in any body politic or corporate, or in any persons or person, other than Her Majesty, Her heirs or successors, such information shall be preferred by the owner or owners of lands, or by some person or persons who, as general or special agent, or attorney, trustee, or otherwise, may be authorized to represent and to act for and on behalf of such owner or owners, or by some person or persons who may be authorized by the supreme court of justice in such colony to prefer such information.

“ And it is further ordered, that every stipendiary justice before whom any such information shall be preferred shall issue his summons for the appearance before him of the party or parties alleged to have so illegally entered upon or taken possession of such land, and of any other person or persons whom it may be necessary or proper to examine as a witness or witnesses on the hearing of any such information, and shall proceed in a summary way in the presence of the parties, or in case of the wilful absence of any person against whom any such information shall have been laid, then in his absence to hear and determine such information; and in case on the hearing thereof it shall be made to appear by sufficient evidence, to the satisfaction of such justice, that the party or parties against whom the same shall have been laid hath or have entered upon or taken possession of the land mentioned or referred to in such information, without any probable claim or pretence of title, then such justice is hereby authorized and required to make an order, directing such party or parties to deliver up to Her Majesty, Her heirs or successors, or other the owner or owners of such lands, or person preferring the information (as the case may be, to be named in such order), peaceable possession of such lands, together with all crops growing thereon, and all buildings and other immovable property upon and affixed to the said lands; and in case the party or parties against whom any such order shall have been made, shall not, within a fortnight after service thereof, deliver up possession of the said lands and premises, pursuant to the said order, then and in such case it shall be lawful for such justice to adjudge such party or parties

to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour, for any time not exceeding fourteen days, and to make a further order for the immediate delivery over of the possession of such land and premises to Her Majesty, Her heirs or successors, or other the body politic or corporate, or person or persons whom such justice may have found to be entitled to the possession thereof, and who shall be named in such further order; and the Governor of the colony in which such lands are situate shall thereupon cause possession thereof to be delivered to Her Majesty, Her heirs or successors, or to such other body politic or corporate, or person or persons accordingly: Provided always, and it is further ordered, that no such order for the delivery up of possession of any such lands shall be made by any such justice as aforesaid, if it shall appear to such justice that the party or parties against whom any such order is sought hath or have been, by himself or themselves, or by those under whom he or they claim title, in the quiet possession of the land mentioned or referred to in any such information, for one year next before the date thereof, or that such party or parties hath or have any probable claim or pretence of lawful title to such lands, or to the occupation thereof.

“ And it is further ordered, that for the purpose of any such order to be made by any such justice as aforesaid, the adjudication of such justice shall be conclusive as to the title of the person to whom delivery of the said lands and premises may be directed to be made; but nothing herein contained shall extend to take away or abridge the jurisdiction by law vested in the superior courts of civil justice of the said colonies respectively, in taking cognizance of and adjudicating upon titles to land; and any person against whom any such order as aforesaid may have been made may, notwithstanding such order, proceed by the ordinary course of law to recover possession of such lands, in case he shall be able to establish a title thereto, and may also in such case recover a reasonable compensation for the damage he may have sustained by reason of his having been compelled to deliver up possession of the said premises, and in like manner, in case of the dismissal of any such information, the party having preferred the same may proceed before the ordinary tribunals as if no such information had been preferred: Provided always, that in case any such information shall be dismissed, it shall be lawful for the said justice, if he shall think fit, to order the person by whom the same may have been preferred, whether such information may have been preferred by the Surveyor-general, or by any other person, to pay to the party or parties against whom the same may have been preferred such sum as the said justice may consider to be the amount of costs fairly incurred by such party or parties by reason of such information so dismissed; and the payment of such costs may be enforced in the same way as the payment of other debts may be enforced in such colonies respectively.

“ And for securing method and accuracy in the execution by the stipendiary justices of the jurisdiction hereby vested in them, it is hereby further ordered, that the Governor of each of the said colonies shall prepare forms of the proceedings to be observed on lodging complaints, in issuing summonses, in the citation of witnesses, in the making orders, and generally for the complete carrying into execution of the powers hereby vested in the stipendiary justices ; which forms shall be submitted by such Governor to the chief civil judge of each such colony respectively, and being approved by such judge, the same shall be observed in all proceedings before the said stipendiary justices.

“ And it is further ordered, that all such forms of proceeding shall from time to time be revised, repealed, or amended, by the authority and in the manner aforesaid, as occasion may require.

“ And it is further ordered, that no order made by any stipendiary justice in the execution of the jurisdiction so vested in him shall be liable to be reversed, set aside, appealed from, or questioned by any court of justice in any of the said colonies, but the same shall, to all intents and purposes, be binding, final and conclusive, subject nevertheless to the right of the parties to proceed as hereinbefore mentioned, before the ordinary tribunals of the said colonies respectively.

“ And it is further ordered, that for all acts done by any stipendiary justice in the exercise of the jurisdiction hereby vested in him, such justice shall have and be entitled to the same protection and indemnity as by any law in force in the colony any magistrate is entitled to claim or to have in respect of any act by him done in execution of the powers vested by law in him.

“ And it is further ordered, that for the purposes and within the meaning of this present order, the officer lawfully administering the government of any of the said colonies shall be deemed and taken to be the Governor thereof ; and the words “ chief civil judge ” shall be construed and understood to mean, in the colony of British Guiana, the chief justice of the Court of Civil and Criminal Justice of Demerara ; and in the colony of Trinidad, the chief judge of the Court of First Instance ; and in the colony of St. Lucia, the first president of the Royal Court ; and in the colony of Mauritius, the first president of the Court of Appeal.

“ And it is further ordered, that all laws, statutes and ordinances in force in the said colonies, or any of them, which are or shall be in anywise repugnant to or inconsistent with this present order, shall be and the same are hereby repealed.

“ And it is further ordered, that the Governor of each of the said colonies respectively shall, immediately upon the receipt by him of this present order, publish, or cause to be published, a proclamation, reciting at length the whole of this present order, and stating the day of the month and year on which the

same was so received by him, and from the publication of such proclamation, this order shall take effect and have the force of law in each of the said colonies respectively.

“And the Right Honourable the Lord Glenelg, one of Her Majesty’s Principal Secretaries of State, is to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.”

And whereas the said order was duly received by his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of this colony on the eleventh day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight:

Now, therefore, I, the said Sir George Fitzgerald Hill, Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander-in-Chief in and over the said Island and its Dependencies, Vice-Admiral thereof, &c. &c. &c., do hereby proclaim the said Order of Her said Majesty in Council; and I do hereby further order, proclaim, and declare, that the said Order shall be, and is hereby declared to be, in force throughout this colony, from and after this twelfth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight.

Given under my hand and seal of office, at Government-house, this twelfth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight.

By his Excellency’s command,

*Thornton Warner*, Act. Col. Secretary.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

The foregoing proclamation was duly proclaimed by me, in Port of Spain, on this twelfth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight.

*Richard Joell*, Asst. Marshal.

Trinidad.

(L. S.) J. A. MEIN,  
Col. & Lt.-Col. 74th  
Regt., Administering  
the Government.

By His Excellency Colonel *John Alexander Mein*, Lieutenant-Colonel of Her Majesty’s 74th Regiment of Foot, administering the Government of the said Island and its Dependencies, Vice-Admiral thereof, &c. &c. &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, by the Order of Her Majesty in Council bearing date the sixth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, it is amongst other things ordered and declared, that, for ensuring regularity and method in the exercise of the

summary jurisdiction therein given, the Governor of each of the colonies therein mentioned should prepare forms of proceedings to be observed on lodging information, in issuing summonses, in the citation of witnesses, in the order for delivery of possession, in the pronouncing of awards or sentences, and generally for the complete carrying of the powers of the stipendiary magistrates into execution, which should be submitted by such Governor to the chief civil judge of each such colony respectively, and, being approved by such judge, should be observed in all proceedings before the said stipendiary magistrates: And whereas, in pursuance of the directions in the said Order in Council contained, I, Colonel John Alexander Mein, Lieutenant-Colonel of Her Majesty's 74th Regiment of Foot, administering the Government of the said Island and its Dependencies, Vice-Admiral thereof, &c. &c. &c., have prepared the following forms of proceedings for the purposes in the said Order in Council mentioned, which have been submitted by me to the Honourable George Scotland, Her Majesty's chief justice and chief civil judge in this colony, and have been approved by him: Now, therefore, I do hereby order and proclaim, that the forms of proceedings hereinafter set forth shall be observed in all proceedings of the stipendiary magistrates had under the said Order of Her Majesty in Council of the sixth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, of which all stipendiary magistrates and other persons are to take notice, and govern themselves accordingly.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the colony, at Government-house, in the town of Port of Spain, this thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine.

By his Excellency's command,

*John Turnbull*, Colonial Secretary.

The foregoing proclamation was duly proclaimed in Port of Spain this thirtieth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, by me,

*Richard Joell*, Actg. Marshal.

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### FORMS OF PROCEEDINGS

For the exercising and carrying into effect the summary jurisdiction of the stipendiary justices, under the Order of Her Majesty in Council dated the 6th of October 1838, for preventing the taking possession of lands by persons without probable claim or pretence of title.

1. EVERY information upon oath against any person or persons under the above Order in Council of the 6th October 1838, shall

be made in writing, signed by the party preferring the same; and shall set forth the names and places of abode, as well of the informant or informants, as of the person or persons informed against; and shall also particularly describe the land in respect whereof such information is preferred, and the character or right under which such informant or informants shall proceed; and every such information may be in the form hereto annexed, marked (A.)

2. Upon receiving such information, the stipendiary justice shall, within forty-eight hours, issue his summons for the appearance before him of the party or parties against whom such information has been preferred; such summons to be in the form hereunto annexed, marked (B.); and shall also issue a summons in the form annexed, marked (C.), to any material witness whose evidence may be required, either on the part of the informant or party informed against.

3. The service of every summons shall be by delivery of a true copy thereof to the party thereby summoned, in person, by the constable, who shall show to such party, at the same time, the original summons; and if such party shall not, after diligent search, be met with, then and in that case it shall and may be a sufficient service of such summons, if the constable shall leave such true copy as aforesaid at the usual place of abode of the party summoned, with some servant or relation of the said party residing with such party thereat; and the constable shall duly return every summons, with the manner of the service thereon indorsed; and where any party informed against shall reside in a different district from that wherein the lands alleged to be encroached upon are situate, service of the summons may be authorized in the district wherein such party shall reside, by indorsement made thereon by the stipendiary justice of such latter district.

4. The day of hearing the information shall be fixed by the stipendiary justice, so as to allow the party informed against a reasonable time to make his defence; and no such party shall be bound to attend any summons, unless after eight clear days from the day of the service thereof, in case such party shall reside in or within twenty miles from the town of Port of Spain, nor unless after fourteen clear days from the service thereof, in case such party shall reside more than twenty miles from the said town, exclusively, in both cases, of the day of service and day of hearing fixed by the summons.

5. All proceedings under the said Order in Council shall be carried on by the stipendiary justices, in public, at some police office or station within the district where the land alleged to be encroached upon is situate, and in the presence of the parties, their solicitors or agents; and no witness shall be examined otherwise than upon oath, nor shall any party be presumed to be wilfully absent, unless upon proof by some affidavit to be made

by a credible witness, showing that the absence of such party is wilful. The stipendiary justice shall further, in every case, cause a record to be made of all the proceedings had before him; and in cases where, in consequence of any party not delivering up any lands in pursuance of the order of such stipendiary justice, it shall become necessary for the stipendiary justice to make any such further order as in the said Order in Council mentioned, such justice shall cause to be delivered to the Governor of the colony a duly certified copy of such record of proceedings, as well as of such further order, under his hand and seal, within four days from the day of making such further order.

6. The order to be made by any such stipendiary justice for the delivery of any lands, in respect of which any such information shall have been laid before him, shall be in the form hereunto annexed, marked (D.) and the conviction in the form (E.): such order shall be served, and the return of such service shall be in manner hereinbefore directed by the 3d and 4th rules of these forms of proceedings in cases of summonses; and in addition to such service, the constable charged therewith shall, within twenty-four hours after he shall receive such order, cause a true copy thereof to be affixed on some conspicuous part of the land thereby ordered to be delivered up.

7. In case complaint shall be made by the informant, and it shall be made to appear by the affidavit of a credible witness, that the person informed against hath neglected or refused duly to deliver up the possession of any such lands pursuant to any such order for the delivery thereof, within a fortnight after the service thereof as aforesaid; and if the stipendiary justice shall see fit to make such further order as in the said Order in Council is mentioned for the immediate delivery over of the possession of such lands, such further order (which may be in the form (F.)) shall be duly served as aforesaid on the party informed against, and a true copy thereof affixed on a conspicuous part of the lands, the possession whereof is ordered to be delivered over, in manner above directed by the 6th rule respecting the service of the former order; and the justice shall also in that case proceed to transmit to the Governor of the colony a duly certified copy of the record of all the proceedings had before him, together with such further order, at the time and in the manner by the 5th rule above directed, in order to the due carrying into effect by the Governor of such further order, which further order shall be according to the form annexed, marked (H.)

8. In cases wherein the stipendiary justice shall think fit, in addition to such further order as aforesaid, for the immediate delivery of any lands, to make order also for the imprisonment, with or without hard labour, of the party informed against for not having delivered the possession of such lands or premises in pursuance of any such order in that behalf as aforesaid, such order of imprisonment may be in the form hereto annexed, and



marked (F.); and the person so convicted shall be committed to the royal gaol; and the commitment may be in the form hereto annexed, and marked (G.)

9. In case the stipendiary justice shall think proper to dismiss any such information, with or without costs, he shall make his order thereon in the form hereto annexed, marked (I.); and in case the justice shall, upon dismissing any such information, think fit to order that any costs shall be paid by any person laying such information to the party against whom the information was laid, the justice shall, unless such costs shall be forthwith paid, grant to the party so informed against a true copy of such order of dismissal, certified by him under his hand and seal, in order that such party may proceed thereon according to law for the recovery of such costs against the person ordered to pay the same.

(A.)

Trinidad.

Before stipendiary justice of the district.

BE it known, that on this day of in the year of our Lord 18 in pursuance of the Order of Her Majesty the Queen in Council, dated the 6th of October 1838, for preventing the taking possession of lands by persons without probable claim or pretence of title; A. B. (herein insert character and description of the informant) gives the said stipendiary justice of the district, and one of the stipendiary justices of the peace for the purposes of the said Order in Council, to know and be informed that C. D. of did, on or about the day of 18 and within one year next before the day of the preferring of this information, without probable claim or pretence of title, enter upon and take possession, and is now in the occupation of a certain piece or parcel of land, situate at within the said district, consisting of and abutted and bounded as follows; that is to say:

(in the blanks describe the extent and abutments of the land, stating whether there be any messuage or buildings, and the nature of the cultivation, &c., if any); which said land of right belongs to who is (or are) entitled to the possession and occupation thereof.

Wherefore the said prays that the said may be forthwith summoned to appear, in order to the proceeding in this matter according to law, and that he, the said may be ordered to deliver up to the said the peaceable possession of the said land, and other the premises aforesaid, according to the form and effect of the said Order in Council.

Sworn to before me by the said A. B. }  
 this day of 18 , } A. B.

E. F.

Stipendiary Justice of District.

(B.)

## SUMMONS.

Trinidad, to wit.

To

WHEREAS an information has been preferred before me by  
of that you the said of did, on or about  
the day of in the year of our Lord 18 without  
any probable claim or pretence of title, enter upon and take possession  
of certain lands; to wit: belonging to

Now I, stipendiary justice of the peace for the purposes  
of a certain Order of Her Majesty in Council, bearing date the 6th  
of October 1838, for preventing the taking possession of lands by  
persons without probable claim or pretence of title, do hereby sum-  
mon and require you the said to attend before me at  
at the hour of in the noon of (state the  
day of the week) the day of in this present  
year of our Lord 18 then and there to answer touching the mat-  
ters of the said information.

Given under my hand and seal this day of 18

E. F. (L. S.)

Stipendiary Justice of District.

(C.)

## SUMMONS to WITNESSES.

Trinidad, to wit.

To

WHEREAS an information has been preferred before me, E. F., one  
of the justices by of that one of  
did on the day of in the year of our Lord 18 without  
any probable claim or pretence of title, enter upon and take pos-  
session of certain lands; to wit: belonging to

Now I, stipendiary justice of the peace for the purposes  
of a certain Order of Her Majesty in Council, bearing date the 6th  
of October 1838, for preventing the taking possession of lands by  
persons without probable claim or pretence of title, do hereby sum-  
mon and require you, the said to attend before me at  
at the hour of in the noon of (state the  
day of the week) the day of in this present  
year of our Lord 18 then and there to give evidence touching  
the matters of the said information on behalf of the said

Given under my hand and seal this day of 18

E. F. (L. S.)

Stipendiary Justice of District.

(D.)

## ORDER FOR DELIVERY OF POSSESSION.

Trinidad, to wit.

To

WHEREAS on the            day of            last past, an information upon oath was duly preferred before me, E. F., stipendiary justice of the            district, one of the justices            by            of            that you            the said            did, on or about the            day of            in the year of our Lord 18            and within one year next before the day of the preferring the said information, without any probable claim or pretence of title, enter upon and take possession of certain lands, and were still in possession of the same ; to wit :            which said lands belong of right to            who is (or are) entitled to the possession thereof : And whereas you, the said            were duly summoned to appear before me and answer touching the matters of the said information (state whether the party appeared, or whether the justice proceeded in his absence, in consequence of his wilful default).

Now, therefore, I, the said            having duly weighed and considered the said matter, and the document and evidence produced therein, and the allegations of the said parties (or, of such of them as attended, or otherwise as the case may be), do hereby order and require you, the said            to deliver to the said            the peaceable and quiet possession of the said lands and premises in the said information mentioned and referred to, consisting of (state the description, and if all the lands are not to be delivered up, state what part), situate within the said district, according to the form and effect of a certain Order of Her Majesty in Council, bearing date the 6th of October 1833, for preventing the taking possession of lands by persons without probable claim or pretence of title.

Given under my hand and seal this            day of            18            .

E. F.            (L. S.)

Stipendiary Justice of            District.

(E.)

## CONVICTION.

Trinidad, to wit.

WHEREAS on the            day of            last past, an information upon oath was preferred before me, E. F.,            stipendiary justice of            district, and one of the justices, &c.            by            of            that one            did, on or about the            day of            in the year of our Lord 18            and within one year next before the day of the preferring of the said information, without any probable claim or pretence of title, enter upon and take



and premises in the said order first above mentioned shall and may be given to the said A. B. by the Governor of this colony, according to the form and effect of the said Order of Her Majesty in Council (where the justice shall think fit to order imprisonment, proceed as follows): And I, the said stipendiary justice aforesaid, do also hereby order and adjudge that the said C. D. be imprisoned in the royal gaol (with or without hard labour), for the space of  
 days.

Given under my hand and seal this                    day of                    18 .

E. F. (L. s.)

Stipendiary Justice of                    District.

(G.)

Trinidad, to wit.

To                    Police Constable of the                    district of Police,  
 and all other Police Constables in the said colony, and to the  
 Alcajde of the Royal Gaol.

WHEREAS                    was on the                    day of                    duly  
 convicted before me,                    stipendiary justice of the peace, and  
 one of the justices in the said colony, for the purpose of a certain  
 Order of Her Majesty in Council, dated the 6th of October 1833, for  
 preventing the taking possession of lands by persons without probable  
 claim or pretence of title, for that he, the said                    did not  
 nor would give up the possession of certain lands and premises  
 whereon he, the said                    had entered, and whereof he had  
 taken possession, without any probable claim or pretence of title,  
 pursuant to a certain order made by me as such stipendiary justice  
 of the peace, under my hand and seal, and dated the                    day  
 of                    within fourteen days after the service of such order on  
 him, although required so to do, against the form of the said Order  
 in Council in that case made and provided; for which said offence  
 he, the said                    was on the                    day of                    sentenced  
 and adjudged by me to                    days' imprisonment (with or without  
 hard labour, as the case may be):

These are, therefore, to command you, the said                    and  
 all other police constables in the said colony, to arrest the person of  
 the said                    and him convey to the royal gaol of Port of  
 Spain, and to deliver him to the alcajde of the said royal gaol; and  
 I do hereby authorize and require you, the said alcajde, to receive  
 and detain him, the said                    in the royal gaol, and to keep  
 him (to hard labour, if so ordered) therein for the term of                    days  
 aforesaid; and for so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Given under my hand and seal this                    day of                    18 .

E. F. (L. s.)

Stipendiary Justice of                    District.

(H.)

## FURTHER ORDER for DELIVERY of LAND.

Trinidad, to wit.

To

WHEREAS on the                    day of                    last past, an information upon oath was duly preferred before me, E. F., stipendiary justice of the                    district, and one of the justices, &c.                    by                    of                    that you, the said                    did, on or about the day of                    in the year of our Lord 18                    and within one year next before the day of the preferring the said information, without any probable claim or pretence of title, enter upon and take possession of certain lands, and were still in possession of the same, to wit:                    which said lands belong of right to                    who is (or are) entitled to the possession thereof: And whereas you, the said                    were duly summoned to appear and answer before me touching the matters of the said information (state whether the party appeared, or whether the justice proceeded in his absence, in consequence of his wilful default); and I, the said E. F., having duly weighed and considered the said matter, and the documents and evidence produced therein, and the allegations of the said parties (or, of such of them as attended, as the case may be), did, in and by a certain order under my hand and seal, dated the day of                    require you, the said                    to deliver to the said                    the peaceable possession of the lands and premises in the said information and order mentioned: And whereas it has been made to appear before me, by the oath of a credible witness, to wit, one G. H., of                    that a copy of the said order was duly served on you, the said                    and that you, the said                    were required to deliver up to the said                    the possession of the said lands and premises in the said information and order respectively mentioned, in pursuance of the said order, but that you, the said                    although a fortnight from the day of the service of the said order hath elapsed, have hitherto refused and still do refuse so to do: And whereas the said                    hath applied to me for a further order for the immediate delivery of the said lands and premises in the said information and order mentioned: Now, therefore, I, the said stipendiary justice of the peace, do hereby further order, that immediate possession of the said lands and premises in the said information and order mentioned and referred to shall and may be given to the said A. B. by the Governor of this colony, according to the form and effect of the said Order in Council.

Given under my hand and seal this                    day of                    18 .

E. F.                    (L. S.)

Stipendiary Justice of                    District.

(I.)

## ORDER, dismissing INFORMATION.

Trinidad, to wit.

To

WHEREAS on the                    day of                    last past, an information, upon oath, was preferred before me, E. F., stipendiary justice of                    district, and one of the justices,                    by                    of                    that one                    did, on or about the                    day of                    in the year of our Lord 18                    without any probable claim or pretence of title, enter upon and take possession of certain lands, and was still in possession of the same; to wit                    which said lands belonged of right to one C. D., who was entitled to the possession thereof: And whereas the said A. B. hath not supported his said information according to law: Now I, the said stipendiary justice aforesaid, do hereby order and adjudge that the above information be dismissed; and I do further order and adjudge that the said A. B., the informant therein, do forthwith pay to the said C. D. the sum of                    as and for the amount of costs fairly incurred by him by reason of the said information so dismissed as aforesaid, according to the form and effect of the said Order of Her Majesty in Council, dated the 6th of October 1838, for preventing the taking possession of lands by persons without probable claim or pretence of title.

Given under my hand and seal this                    day of                    18 .

E. F.                    (I. S.)

Stipendiary Justice of                    District.

## Appendix (D.)

THE following Summary of official Acts in the Colony of Trinidad will show the sudden mode in which negro apprenticeship was abolished, and the totally unprepared state of the Government and community for the change:—

1838, 7 July.—The Lieutenant-Governor issued his proclamation, specially addressed to the labouring classes, in which he states, “Information has reached me that the  
“ field apprentices on some estates believe that their period  
“ of apprenticed labour for their employers is to cease on  
“ the 1st August next, and it has become my duty to un-  
“ deceive them, and *tell them the truth*. The truth then  
“ is, that Her Majesty the Queen, and Her Parliament, have  
“ determined to continue the law,—that the predial appren-  
“ ticeship shall be observed until 1840. Those apprentices  
“ are therefore bound to serve their employers for two years  
“ after the 1st August next.”

1838: 26 July.—The Lieutenant-Governor issued another proclamation, in which it is announced, “That all persons

“ who, on the 1st day of August 1838, shall be in a state of  
 “ apprenticeship as predial apprenticed labourers within the  
 “ island and its dependencies, shall, upon and from and  
 “ after the 1st day of August 1838, become and be to all  
 “ intents and purposes whatsoever absolutely and for ever  
 “ manumitted and set free.”

Four days' preparation were thus allowed for this mighty change, and the period fixed for its commencement actually arrived in some of the distant quarters before the proclamation which effected it. The public mind was in a state of bewilderment, particularly the labouring class. The Governor had told them as a truth, that The Queen and Parliament had determined they should serve two years longer; nevertheless, in nineteen days they were set free; who could tell what miracle the next nineteen days would produce—they might own the estates on which they resided! The feelings which this astounding event excited were mixed up in the minds of some of the most industrious and intelligent amongst them with bitter indignation, for numbers, on the strength of the Governor's truth, that they must serve until the 1st August 1840, had, within the short period since elapsed, purchased and paid their employers for their exemption from service, the same being rigidly calculated at two years' duration; and suddenly every idle, careless person around them obtained the same boon for nothing.

The condition of the proprietor and planter was infinitely worse. No time had been allowed to consider of the rates of wages, or the nature of contracts of service by which labour should be performed; and during the jubilee which immediately ensued amongst the lower class, the fields lay untilled, and the cattle unattended, and many a respectable person performed, for the first time in their lives, the duties of cook, chambermaid, butler and groom. Many estates, besides, had been bought, sold and leased, under the expectation of a command of apprenticed labour for two years longer. The purchasers and lessees saw only ruin before them, and talked of renouncing their contracts; so that, in addition to all other evils, the colony was threatened with a heavy mass of litigation and legal expenditure.

The state of the colonial government it is impossible to describe correctly. Not a single law which the change required had been previously prepared; for a fortnight the public remained without the legal machinery by which the peace and welfare of a free society are protected; and the ordinances then passed in a hurried way to meet the emergency of the case were necessarily so imperfect that the majority were disallowed; so that nearly twelve months elapsed before the community, so far as it depended on legal protection, was placed in a state of order and safety.

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## Appendix (E.)

It is stated in the text that it was determined by Government to place the peasantry of the West Indies under a less stringent code than the same class in Great Britain. A better witness in proof of this assertion cannot be selected than Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Governor of Jamaica, who writes as follows to Lord John Russell, the colonial minister, on the 29th July 1840: "In the concluding remarks of your Lordship's despatch, No. 76, on the duty of affording protection to The Queen's subjects who constitute the great majority of the population of Jamaica, I beg leave to express my entire concurrence. No person in the world can be more sensible of the weight of that obligation than the Governor, who, in addition to the calls of humanity and public duty, has the further motive that his reputation depends upon the fulfilment of that purpose.

"The only question is, how it can best be accomplished, whether by *riding rough-shod over the island institutions and knocking down right and left* every thing that stands in one's way, or by cordially co-operating with the island authorities, legislative and executive, profiting by their good feelings, taking them by the hand, and leading them gently to every desired improvement, respecting their just rights as well as those of others, and above all, by not suspecting and distrusting them. The latter is the course which naturally presented itself to me, and, if your Lordship will allow me to proceed in it, I will answer for this decidedly, that the people shall be efficiently protected."

"Applying the question to legislation, I would say that I know no limit to the improvement to our legislation that might be effected by gentle means. If your Lordship would send me the most perfect code of laws in the world, securing in the utmost degree the liberty and protection of the subject, I could almost engage that it should be adopted as the code of Jamaica! I would say the same as to any amendments of any existing laws that can be suggested, provided that they came freely as improvements; but if the impression be produced, however mistaken, that our well-meant, albeit imperfect, legislation is received with suspicion and distrust; examined with a censorious spirit; rejected and hurled back upon us branded with the opprobrium of designed injustice and oppression; *that what is deemed good and just law for the free people of England is reprobated as the reverse because it is enacted in Jamaica; that affection and care are entertained for only one class, and that all others are regarded with injurious prejudice; then disgust must arise, which would be followed by disaffection and its consequences. The island could only in that case be governed by the main force and coercion of the mother country. I am in this description only endeavouring to point out the opposite workings and effects*

of different systems, and, by inference, the consequences to be expected, according to the inclination which your Lordship's measures may seem to have towards the one or the other. I am sure that your Lordship's intentions are both just and generous, but much, it appears to me, depends on the way in which the most generous designs are pursued."

It will surprise a future generation to hear that the efforts of the colonists to regulate the condition of a labouring class just emancipated from slavery, and unacquainted with the duties of freemen, by placing them on the same footing with the free peasants of Britain, should have been "rejected and hurled back upon them with the opprobrium of designed injustice and oppression." The case is certainly put hypothetically by the Governor in the last sentence, but it is easy to see the existence of the fact through the veil of courtesy which dictates this mode of expression. The whole struggle of the proprietors of Jamaica was simply an attempt to place themselves on the same footing with proprietors in the mother country, and for this they were threatened with the loss of their charter. It may be truly said that to the moral courage of Sir Charles Metcalfe in boldly stating these truths, and to his impartial administration respecting the just rights of proprietors as well as those of the labourers, the valuable colony of Jamaica has been preserved from ruin.

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## Appendix (F.)

MUCH of the policy of our colonial government will be found to be erroneous, and indeed positively repugnant to the growth and prosperity of our dependencies. The radical error of our system lies in conferring official appointments in the colonies, chiefly upon natives of Great Britain, and more particularly in making these offices exclusively dependent upon ministerial patronage. If this latter power were limited solely to the appointment of Governors, leaving all other offices to be filled up in the colonies by the usual influences which bring men into place and power in England, it would be all that a just and necessary supremacy in the mother country would require. There would be no difficulty in finding competent persons to fill these offices, for the tendency of such a rule would be to attract talent into the colony instead of driving it out, as is the case at present; for no men of wealth and independent feeling will submit to remain in a country where they find themselves and children virtually excluded from official rank, emolument and political influence. They generally retire

as early as they can to Great Britain, where they find themselves on an equal footing with others, and thereby denude the colony of floating capital and intelligence, which keeps it in a state of torpid inanimation.

Where wealth and local intelligence are not to be found in combination, there can be no enterprise and no employment; and this is the sole cause which compels so large a portion of our emigrants to pass over from Canada into the United States, rendering property so much more valuable on the American side than in the adjoining districts of the British provinces, as observed by Lord Durham, whose acute judgment led him immediately to detect the cause. All our colonies suffer from the same circumstance. Where there is no rival power immediately adjoining, with whose territories a comparison can be made, the bad effects of our policy may not be so obvious and striking, but there is no doubt that it works quite as injuriously in the West Indies and in our other colonial dependencies as in Canada.

The political consequences of this error are still more fatal; for the difference in the value of property alluded to has given rise to an idea that the superiority visible on the American side is owing to republican institutions, which is not the case; for greater wealth, intelligence and enterprise are to be found nowhere than in Great Britain.

M. de Tocqueville, comparing the past with the present state of Europe, and observing the progress of events on the continent of America, thought he saw an inevitable tendency towards democracy in the human race; but may not the movement which he describes and fears be imputed rather to the rapid and increasing spread of Christian knowledge throughout these favoured portions of the globe? Mankind, under the influence of this pure and mild code, will no longer submit to barbarous and unjust governments; and if a beneficent rule is not conceded by a monarchy, it will be sought for in a republic; but there is no inherent superiority in the latter form, and certainly no natural predilection in its favour, as evinced by our neighbours in Denmark. The contrary, indeed, may be rather predicated of the English race generally; there is decidedly no very earnest desire amongst them for equality of rank; they feel and well understand the differences which nature and education invariably create; and if the divine rule is only adhered to in government—to do as we would be done by—our aristocratical institutions can never fall into disrepute.

Let our colonies then be fairly dealt with,—let them have the substance as well as the forms of British institutions,—and even Canada, in spite of past events and a diversity of races, may yet, with an increasing British population, acquire the permanent impress of British feelings. If every avenue to official rank and power is fairly left open to her leading men of

wealth and intelligence (as in England), the certainty is, that, when the day of her independence arrives, she will form a distinct government, and a political counterpoise to her republican neighbours.

By such a course, our colonies will, no doubt, arrive earlier at maturity and independence; but, in every stage of their existence, both before and after that period, the value of their commercial connexion will be proportionably enhanced, and the great probability is, that a federative union would naturally arise between communities of the same race, feelings, and forms of government. By our present proceedings we prevent our colonists from understanding and appreciating the value of aristocratical institutions, by excluding them altogether from their chief benefits. We forcibly convert them into discontented republicans, difficult and expensive to govern whilst under our control, and certain to be jealous and hostile rivals, whenever, through a bloody struggle, they have achieved their independence.

### Appendix (G.)

THE philanthropist need not fear that wages can ever fall too low in Trinidad. If reduced to one-half their present rates, they will then be higher than in Jamaica, where, as Sir Charles Metcalfe states, "the population are as free, as independent in their conduct, as well conditioned, as much in the enjoyment of abundance, and as strongly sensible of the blessing of liberty, as any that we know of in any country."—(*Speech to the House of Assembly.*)—They cannot fall under that rate, as they would then be lower than wages on the adjoining continent, from whence labourers are continually passing and re-passing in open boats. Besides, Government can always keep wages at a remunerating height by a proper management of the Crown lands.

## Appendix (H.)

To many it may appear paradoxical that some of our West Indian colonies should be thrown into such a state of difficulty and distress from the want of labourers, when so many free communities are to be found in various parts of the world, flourishing and contented with much smaller populations. The cause of this difference is easily explained. The communities alluded to have never expended money in forming estates to a greater extent than their actual supply of labour at the time would enable them to work; which supply they always possess, not only undiminished, but improved in the ratio of natural increase, and of course continue to cultivate their lands profitably; so far from requiring more labourers, should any additional number be thrown upon their hands, they would be obliged to borrow capital to furnish them with employment, or provide for their subsistence by parish rates. Most of the West Indian colonies, particularly Trinidad and Guiana, are placed in a totally different position. There the money laid out, and the capital employed, was proportioned, not to the free labour they now possess, but to the slave labour they commanded before emancipation, when the whole population was chained to the soil, and compelled to cultivate it. The labourers are now free, and one-half of them have deserted, or are deserting, their former employments to engage in trade, or other more pleasing occupations. This was to be expected, for it will be seen by reference to Porter's Tables, that the number of persons engaged in agricultural employments in England very little exceeded one-fourth of the whole population at the last census in 1831.

It is undeniable, therefore, that had slavery not been encouraged by the nation and Government, the West Indians could never have been placed in their present state of distress; for, probably, not one-fourth of the one hundred millions invested in those colonies would otherwise have found its way there.

It is the surplus capital in those colonies, not floating, but fixed and irremovable, which creates all the mischief and distress at the present moment, for it must be profitably employed, or it will perish. A wasteful struggle and competition have consequently ensued amongst the proprietors, each striving to keep up his cultivation to its former extent, notwithstanding the diminished number of labourers. This unavailing attempt gave the latter immediately a complete monopoly of the labour market; they commanded their own terms, and would do nothing but for extravagant wages; from whence arose all the idleness, vice and immorality disclosed in the evidence.

Had Government thoroughly understood this portion of the subject, it would have seen the necessity of making arrangements, previous to the extinction of apprenticeship in 1838, either

for the introduction of a considerable increase of population in Trinidad and Guiana, or for the destruction of half the estates, and the resumption of the uncultivated lands.

100. There would have been no great difficulty in effecting the latter  
 325. measures by a joint stock scheme, in which the owners of the  
 450. estates sacrificed could have been compensated out of those  
 which were preserved. By these means, the distant outlying  
 properties would all have been got rid of, the population concentrated, and government, law, police, education and religion, all now materially suffering from the dispersion of society, would have been strengthened and promoted, and the colonial expenditure greatly reduced. The remaining estates would have then been more valuable than the whole now are, or ever can be, until a sufficient population is found to cultivate them; for their value depends, not on the quantity of sugar made, but upon the cost of making it; wages by the process described would have been kept down to a fair rate, and the labourers who now work only four hours in the day, for three or four days in the week, would then have worked eight hours for five or six days. The loss suffered by the nation in consequence of Government adopting neither of these two plans must have been enormous, although the amount can never be accurately ascertained, as it has fallen directly and indirectly upon three different parties, the capitalist, planter, and consumer of sugar in Great Britain. Of course the latter plan would not have been required in Barbadoes, Antigua, nor any other colony where a superabundant slave population has left (notwithstanding the change) a sufficient number of agricultural labourers; neither would it have been preferentially recommended in any, for it would inevitably have caused a great sacrifice of capital; but destructive as it would have been, it would, nevertheless, have been less ruinous than the negligent, inefficient system pursued, and will be more advantageous, even now, than to continue in the same course. The only proper plan would have been to have made arrangements in time for the introduction of an additional population, and also for their comfortable lodging and subsistence, by passing an Act, some time previous to the extinction of apprenticeship, for the reduction of duties on foreign timber and provisions imported into the colonies, something similar to the one introduced during the last session only by Mr. Labouchere: but to do so at the eleventh hour, after a great unnecessary expense had been incurred, and then to claim merit for it in the eyes of the West Indians, is in perfect keeping with all the proceedings by which the experiment of negro emancipation has been placed in its present critical state.

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## Appendix (I.)

At the cession of the colony of Trinidad by the crown of Spain, in 1802, the cultivated parts of the island were divided into different sections, termed "Quarters," over each of which a "Commandant" presided; whose functions were in many respects analogous to those of a lord-lieutenant in an English county. Sir Thomas Picton, perceiving the utility and necessity of the office, made no change, and it continued a part of the executive government of the island until the abolition of slavery.

The commandant of a quarter was selected from amongst the most wealthy and best informed of the resident proprietors, and filled the office gratuitously. He held a petty court for civil and criminal causes, superintended the repair of the roads, made the annual returns of population and cultivation, generally commanded the militia, and in a dignified and effective way represented the government in the quarter over which he presided. This office was abolished at the extinction of slavery, and nothing has since been established to supply its place. A few of the duties have devolved upon a stipendiary magistrate, who administers civil and criminal justice in six or seven quarters, now consolidated into one "rural district," and commands the police. But the most material part of the executive functions of the commandant, relating to a superintendence of the general conduct and movement of the free-labouring population, remains now altogether unperformed, to the great risk and danger of the community; more particularly at a period when an additional population of strangers is coming in, rendering a watchful supervision more necessary than ever. It will be seen by the evidence, that one important duty of the commandant was to overlook and restrain the application of fire as an agricultural operation. There is now no law on the subject, the same having been annulled with the office of commandant. Any stupid or drunken labourer, owning half an acre of land, may involve the whole district in flames; and the risk of it is imminent every crop season. Another very material, and probably more necessary, restraint upon the labouring population was at the same time removed—the want of which has seriously increased the present tendency to a vagabond life, with all its accompanying evils. Every free labourer formerly, when entering the colony, or removing his residence from one quarter to another, presented himself before the commandant, stating his name, occupation, from whence he came, and intended abode. They now roam wherever they please, from one end of the island to the other, unknown to, and unquestioned by, any authority.

344.

The re-establishment of the office of commandant is therefore deemed highly necessary, as it is important, under the present

circumstances of the colony, that the name and residence of every individual domiciled in a quarter should be known to some executive officer presiding over it, and responsible for its peace and good order. By which arrangement, in case of need, some information may be obtained respecting the previous conduct of suspected parties in their former residence, and some clue by which offenders may be traced who abscond from justice, and, above all, by which the immigrants of African race may be made to perceive on their arrival in the colony that there is a government to control them, if necessary, which at present they must have great difficulty in discovering, as nothing of the kind is visible in most of the rural districts.

It is true that hitherto no great acts of violence or depredation have been committed, for to these there could be little incentive in a colony where a labourer is able to obtain with the slightest personal exertion all the luxuries he can desire, and more than has ever fallen to the lot of any labouring class on the globe; but this condition of affairs cannot last; and mild and manageable as the negroes may be under well-organized regulations, we must not forget that they are the same race which in Anguilla is denounced by the special magistrate as "turbulent and untractable; whose agrarian depredations are so common and determined, that the male members of the families of proprietors were obliged to parade round their grounds at night with loaded muskets, to prevent the crops being actually cleared off by thieves."—P. P. No. 613, 1840, p. 130.

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## Appendix (K.)

To defray the expense of introducing labourers from Africa, it is proposed to establish, by permission of Government, a land and emigration fund in the Island of Trinidad.

531.

But as the granted lands amount to 208,379 acres, of which only 43,265 are now in cultivation, the remaining 165,114 acres must be brought into that state before any regular or large sales of Crown lands can be effected. It would be necessary, therefore, in the first instance, to borrow a sum to pay for the introduction of labourers during the intervening period, which could be done by pledging the general revenues of the colony for the payment of the annual interest. To this arrangement there could be no objection, as the colonial treasury would be benefited immediately from the effects of immigration, far beyond the sum required for that purpose, which will appear by the following statement:—By reference to Appendix (O.), it will be seen that



the colonial revenue has increased from 48,349 *l.*, in the year 1838, to 68,790 *l.* in 1840, or nearly 50 per cent. in two years, without the imposition of a single new tax. It is impossible not to ascribe this in some considerable degree to immigration during that period, for which the treasury paid 9,037 *l.* (Appendix P.), and consequently appears to have been a gainer by the expenditure. This will, however, be more clearly seen by another calculation. The population at the last census taken in 1838 amounted to 39,328. It may now be rated at 45,000; which number, if made the divisor of 68,790 *l.*, the revenue of 1840, will give above 30*s.* 6*d.*, or seven dollars, as the indirect taxation paid by each individual of all ages in the colony. This sum which each immigrant, as a producer and consumer, will certainly contribute annually to the treasury (and it might easily and advantageously be increased) amounts to 23 per cent. on thirty dollars, the expense of his passage from Africa; or to 11½ per cent. if thirty more are required for his liberation; the whole of which could be borrowed at 6 per cent. interest, on the security of the future sales of public lands, and the guarantee of the colonial treasury.

564.

255.

533.

514.

390.

582.

No colony can be better adapted for the application of the Wakefield system and the establishment of a land and emigration fund than Trinidad. The 165,114 acres of granted but uncultivated land present no obstacle, for very few of the lots exceed 500 or 600 acres in extent, and the greater number are of 320 acres. They are principally situate along the margin of the Gulf of Paria, or the lines of rivers running into it; and have generally some cultivation upon them. The great body of the interior of the island, and the greatest part of the northern, eastern and southern coasts, are yet ungranted. The island is generally level, as may be easily observed from the sea, but is very little known in the interior, except to hunters and adventurous travellers, who report highly of its extraordinary fertility; and wherever it has been explored it is covered with a dense forest of lofty trees, which cover even the highest peaks of the northern range of mountains. But before a land and emigration fund can be established, it will be necessary to fix the minimum price at which the public lands in that colony should be sold. Referring to the parliamentary papers, No. 613, August 1840, it appears by a communication of that date from the colonial land and emigration commissioners, that this price had not then been fixed, for want of sufficient data. The varied information contained in the evidence taken by the Trinidad Committee will supply the Commissioners with an abundance of facts on which to found a correct calculation; but the following observations may afford some little assistance towards the solution of so material a question.

In calculating the relative minimum price of Crown lands in the different West Indian colonies (where any remain to be

disposed of), two circumstances must be, as nearly as possible, ascertained.

1st. The ordinary rates of wages in each, upon which the ability of a labourer to purchase will depend.

2d. The comparative fertility of their soils, as an acre in some colonies may be equal in productive value to four or five in another.

In November 1838, Lord Glenelg prescribed 1*l.* sterling per acre, as the lowest upset price in any West Indian colony, which appears to have been considered too high for the Bahamas, where the land is not adapted for agricultural purposes; but may be deemed a fair rate for Tortola, and the least fertile of the Caribbean range of islands to windward. According to Mr. Gurney's letters, wages are at 6*d.* per day in Tortola; in Trinidad, they are at 4*s.* 2*d.* sterling; where circumstances, however, have given the negroes at present a monopoly of the labour market, which cannot continue; 2*s.* 1*d.* sterling will therefore be taken as the probable future price of a day's labour in the latter island, which would give 4*l.* per acre as the minimum price of Crown land, estimated with reference to the scale of wages and cost of land in Tortola. But the superior fertility of the soil of Trinidad has now to be considered. This cannot be ascertained with mathematical precision, and must rest principally on general opinion. If it be assumed, however, to be only four times as fertile—if one acre in Trinidad is deemed to be as productive only as four in Tortola—it is believed that no proprietor in the latter island will be disposed to complain of the estimate as partial or unfair. Calculated by these data, the minimum price in Trinidad should be 16*l.* sterling per acre, if fixed at 1*l.* in Tortola; and it is clear, by the steps which have been pursued in arriving at this result, that a labourer in the former island can as easily as in the latter (even at these different rates) save out of the wages of his industry a sum sufficient to purchase a piece of land, which will give him an equal return for his time and labour expended. This view of the subject appears to be supported by the whole of the evidence taken by the Trinidad Committee.

622. In Tacarigua, the labourers were purchasing land at the rate  
491. of 133*l.* sterling per acre; in the Naparimas, at the still more extravagant rates of 200*l.* to 416*l.*

667. By the records of the court of intendant it appears that immigrants, who had been less than a year in the island, were enabled to expend to the extent of 33*l.* 6*s.* sterling in the purchase of Crown land, and they were purchasing so rapidly, that  
537. the commissary of population is of opinion that few will remain above one year working as labourers. From the above statements it is undeniable, that even the excessive prices above quoted have not been able to effect what the commissioners, in their communication of 4th August 1840, represent as desirable,

viz. "that the minds of the incoming population should not be turned immediately towards the occupation of land."

Some persons may entertain apprehensions that it will not be practicable to extend cultivation in the colony if so high a price is fixed upon the Crown land, and that it may deter capitalists from purchasing at a future period. But it may be safely assumed, that if the price is not too high for the labourer, it cannot be so for the capitalist; and it is not apprehended by those who know the colony, that the price suggested will ever prevent the establishment of new estates in Trinidad, should all other circumstances encourage it. Two and a half tons of sugar, and one ton of molasses, are a moderate return per acre for a first crop on new land, which at the lowest average prices in Cuba give 45*l.* sterling; and it has not unfrequently happened, even in the time of slavery, when land always bears a secondary value, that a planter in Trinidad has found it advantageous to pay 100*l.* sterling per acre for a field conveniently situated with respect to his works and machinery. If land can bear a high value any where, it must ultimately do so in our West Indian colonies. Hitherto, and very naturally, the whole value of an estate has been connected with the labour which made it productive; but a very different calculation will be made, now that we have the benefit of free institutions, whenever the labour-market is fully supplied. It may be necessary, however, to repeat what was said before, that the foregoing opinions are given with the view only of assisting in the consideration of so important a question. The Committee would, doubtless, have extended their inquiries further, had they not been aware that its ultimate decision would be left to a board, whose perfect knowledge of the subject has been shown in all its proceedings.

With the same view, other circumstances, noticed by the commissioners in their communication of 4th August 1840, will now be considered.

The Committee are of opinion that no smaller lots of land than 320 acres should be disposed of by Government. Crown land can rarely be required for the accommodation of labourers in that island, neither can it be advantageous to them to purchase in the situations in which it is usually to be had, as, instead of keeping them in the centre of the cultivation where their services are most in demand, it would remove them to the skirts. There can be no difficulty in their obtaining, at all times, land enough amongst the settled estates, and although the price would be higher, their means of paying for it would be proportionately increased. The Committee are decidedly of opinion that all village allotments should be laid out by individuals, and not by Government, for these also should be, as nearly as possible, in the centres of cultivation, or at the principal shipping places where all the lands have been granted. The first town in a new colony, intended to be the seat of Government and site of the

536.

537.

public offices, may be always advantageously commenced by Government; but there is great risk of failure in attempting any other. Individuals best understand the direction which cultivation and traffic are likely to take.

The intrusion of squatters on the Crown lands, now greatly complained of, can easily be got rid of. It only requires a clear and explicit law to prevent it, and then to carry the law into execution; for which purpose a competent officer should be appointed as conservator of the Crown lands. At present they are under the charge of the Surveyor-general, who, being unable to attend to the duty, devolves it upon the road commissioners in each district. They are all planters, and, being dependent upon the favour of their labourers, dare not inform against them. A right of pre-emption should be accorded to those who can show any reasonable plea for their occupation; the remainder should be summarily ejected, in which there can be no hardship in a colony where every planter is ready at a moment's notice to furnish a labourer gratuitously with lodging, and give him immediate employment at high wages.

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### Appendix (L.)

THE Committee have not presumed to give an opinion as to the mode of obtaining negro labourers on the coast of Africa, for if the principle be approved of, there can be no difficulty in adopting a proper and unobjectionable form of proceeding; they consider, however, that it should be conducted and managed entirely by a Government agency for the whole of the colonies. It appears that his Netherland Majesty adopted, prior to the year 1836, a government agency for a supply of negro recruits to be sent to the colonies of Batavia and Surinam. Lord Palmerston, in his communications of 7th and 10th September 1840, to Sir E. C. Desbrowe, objects to that proceeding, as encouraging the slave trade and perpetuating the traffic; and also because the certificates of emancipation given by the Dutch authorities to these slaves "are evidently valueless pieces of paper, unless they confer upon them, which of course they do not, the power of returning to their own country, or of refusing to enter into the Dutch service, and of continuing in a state of freedom." And for these reasons his Lordship considers the course pursued to be incompatible with the treaty entered into by his Netherland Majesty on the 4th May 1818, for the suppression of the slave trade. It is evident from the whole tenor of these communications to Sir E. C. Desbrowe, that the plan of the Trinidad Committee, which, instead of perpetuating the traffic in slaves, will first reduce and then extinguish it—which will give to the liberated negro the power and facility of returning to his own

country, or of continuing in the island in a state of freedom—will be considered by his Lordship as perfectly compatible with the provisions of the treaty of May 1818, and open for the adoption of either of the contracting parties, should they find it expedient.

It has not been thought necessary in the "Observations" to reply to an objection which possibly may be made, that the stimulus to the internal slave trade will be increased by our first demand for labourers on the coast until the sugar they produce can be brought into the market, which would take one year to effect; the Committee believing that the real friends of Africa will be quite satisfied if convinced that the slave trade will rapidly decrease at the expiration of the first year after their plan has been carried into operation. If such an objection could have any weight in the present instance, it would have deterred the nation and government from passing the act for the extinction of slavery in our colonies; as every reflecting person foresaw that it would immediately diminish their production of sugar, and increase the internal slave trade; but the great ultimate benefits expected from that measure were justly allowed to overbalance any temporary and unavoidable evil.

By the extinction of slavery in the British colonies we have created a deficiency in the quantity of sugar required for the consumption of Europe, which must and will be supplied. Shall we leave this deficiency to be made up by the slave-owner at an immediate sacrifice of the lives of one-half the negroes he takes from the coast for that purpose; or shall we assist in furnishing the supply by a mild and humane proceeding, which will benefit all the parties employed in it? The Committee can have no doubt of the nature of the reply given by every friend of Africa to this question.

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### Appendix (M.)

ONE-SIXTH of the surface of the Island of Trinidad contains above 200,000 acres. The best-informed planters are of opinion, that the land will give two and a half tons of sugar per acre without manure, and with only two weedings. To ascertain the correctness of this opinion, it will be advantageous to refer to statistical facts. The export of sugar from the colony for a series of past years will be found at Appendix (Q.) In 1839, the quantity shipped, including tierces and barrels, amounted to 21,206 hogsheads, made from 21,710 acres of cane-land, as returned by the Surveyor-general, being nearly one hogshead per acre, which may be moderately computed at 15 cwt. of sugar. Certainly this is a return per acre very far short of two and a half tons; but those who are acquainted with the condition of

531

285.

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the island, the absolute scarcity of labour which has always existed, and the consequent slovenly cultivation, will only be surprised that so much could have been done with such inadequate means, and be fully confirmed in their previous opinions as to the capability of the soil.

10. It must not be supposed, that the whole 21,710 acres of cane-land are ever covered with canes: the first witness examined states, that a great many cane-pieces are overgrown with brush-wood; one-sixth, therefore, may be fairly deducted as unproductive, leaving only about 18,000 acres in actual cultivation.

It is also necessary to explain, that in Trinidad the cane-pieces are not cut every crop, as in other colonies; for from negligent cultivation they are found not to ripen within the year, although only ten degrees removed from the equator. The best planters, therefore, always endeavour to have a double stock of canes upon the ground, and cut only one-half of them in alternate years; one-third, however, will be only deducted on this account, leaving 12,000 acres as the quantity cut for the export of 21,206 hogs-heads in 1839, which is believed to be much beyond the real amount; and this will give a net return of 25 cwt. per acre, under the present defective system of cultivation. Every witness examined speaks pointedly to this last fact. Frederic Maxwell, a most intelligent and excellent person, formerly a slave, and now manager of the Philippine estate (which was at the time in the best order of any estate in the island), distinctly declares that if his canes were better attended to, they would yield one-third more sugar. A witness from Barbados describes the cultivation and manufacturing processes in Trinidad as most slovenly and dirty, and very correctly attributes it to the superabundance of land. The Surveyor-general is of opinion, that the soil would produce twice as much under a better system of cultivation, of which, indeed, no planter entertains the smallest doubt, or that two and a half tons per acre could be easily raised from every acre of good sugar land in the colony. For the purpose, however, of rendering this statement incontrovertible, only one and a half tons will be taken as the regular average return, which will give 300,000 tons of sugar, and 100,000 tons of molasses, as the annual crop of one-sixth part of the surface of the Island of Trinidad, being nearly double the amount consumed in the United Kingdom, upon the average of the last ten years.

In looking forward to the growth of a large supply of tropical produce from our West Indian colonies for the future consumption of Europe and North America, it is expected that the cultivation of sugar will be principally extended in Trinidad and Guiana; but it must not be supposed that the sugar estates in the old colonies will cease to be profitable, or that all tropical articles—sugar, tobacco, cotton or rice—require a virgin soil for their advantageous production.

This opinion has arisen from the circumstance that tropical

produce, with few exceptions, has hitherto been raised only by slave labour, which, being simply physical force and destitute of skill and intelligence, invariably exhausts the soil to which it is applied. When slavery competes only with slavery, a virgin soil gives an immense advantage to its possessor, which is the reason that cultivation by slave labour is continually moving onwards to new lands, at an enormous expense and waste of capital; but unquestionably free labour will remain stationary, improving the soil, whatever may be the article under cultivation. In proof of which, we see (by the last despatches) that rice is grown close to the walls of Canton; and sugar is exported from the valley of the Ganges, from fields which must have been for ages under cultivation. That this supposed necessity for a virgin soil is to be ascribed solely to the inferiority of slave labour, and not to any peculiarity in the nature of tropical productions, is proved by the same effect being observed in the cultivation of every other article. The soil of Virginia is as favourable for the growth of wheat and Indian corn as that of Pennsylvania; but the difference in the condition of these two adjoining states, arising from the difference in their institutions, is highly marked and striking. In Virginia, the proprietors and their slaves are gradually migrating westward, in quest of new soils, leaving their old domains abandoned. In Pennsylvania, the freeman continues to till the land cleared by his forefathers, rendering it every day more productive and valuable; and it is admitted (even in that part of the world) that if slavery were extinguished to-morrow by the legislature of Virginia, the free population of Pennsylvania would immediately march in and recultivate their deserted fields.

The same results will arise in our old colonies. Lands which slave labour has retreated from, will again be brought into profitable use; but time and additional hands will be required to effect it. The Act which abolished slavery did not give us free labour,—it only opened the door for its creation and introduction. If a proper line of policy be now adopted for that purpose, it requires no great foresight to predict that before many years elapse the beautiful and extensive plain of Ligonea in Jamaica (now grown up in bush) will be covered again with luxuriant crops; that cotton and tobacco, now nearly driven out of cultivation, will be grown to an indefinite extent in all our old colonies, competing successfully in the markets of the world with similar slave-grown articles; and that estates in every island, from Tortola to Barbados, instead of being abandoned, will gradually improve in value.

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## Appendix (N.)

To commence an infant colony by the formation of a railroad will be startling by its novelty; but, in fact, almost all improvements connected with the administrative departments of Government may be considered as novelties, as it is only recently that the principles on which they are founded have become a study.

Good roads and quick and easy communication throughout a country are nearly as essential for good government as public officers for the administration of the laws; and the formation of the one, as well as the appointment of the other, should always devolve upon the executive.

It has not hitherto been done, because colonies have been usually commenced without capital, and without the adoption of any systematic plan for securing their future prosperity; many of them consequently perished during their infancy, and all suffered severely. Probably no cause has operated against them more injuriously than the want of good roads at their first establishment. The most essential part of the system by which the comfort, the prosperity, and good government of a colony is ultimately to be secured, has been invariably abandoned to the weak, reluctant, and unscientific efforts of the first settlers, whose whole study necessarily must be, under the difficult circumstances in which they are placed, to do just as little in the formation of roads as they cannot possibly do without, with reference to their own domestic wants. They have, therefore, been always badly traced, half made, and in their results ruinously expensive.

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In the regions of the north, where a mantle of snow affords once a year an easy path for a sleigh, by which the whole country can be traversed, and a crop carried to a market, the want of good roads is, in some degree, mitigated; but in the tropics, and particularly in deep alluvial soils, subject to heavy rains, it is felt most severely, as stated by every witness examined on the subject. In such situations, a railroad is the cheapest mode of communication which can be established; for the soil is always found to be well timbered, and the trees which must be removed from the trace will serve economically for the rails, instead of being burnt, as is usual in all clearings at present. In fact, nothing would require to be imported or paid for but the iron-work. The whole of the land would be public property, and all the heavy expenses incurred by the formation of a railroad in Britain would be avoided. There would be no tunnels, no viaducts, no deep cuts, and no embankments, as the road would only follow where the best natural levels led from the harbour or shipping-place into the interior, whatever might be its direction; the grants of public land would be sold off on each side, the road extending always a short distance in advance of

406.



the purchasers, and forming a permanent and well-defined boundary to the fronts of their estates. It would, in fact, constitute a Wakefield system, established by mechanical means alone, ensuring condensation of population in the infancy of a colony, with a gradual power of expansion in proportion to its increase. In Trinidad, no penalties would be required to prevent a settler from locating himself on Crown lands in the interior. So deep is the soil that all roads not macadamised are impassable in the rainy season, and very expensive at other periods, as a single shower will put them out of order. There is no stone or gravel in the best sugar districts, which is the cause of their being hitherto only partially occupied, the planters preferring to scatter their settlements along the shores of the Gulf of Paria, deeming fertility of soil of less consequence than facility of communication. This dispersion of the population was less felt when slavery existed, as each estate constituted a small government within itself, where police and justice were regularly administered; but, since emancipation, it constitutes one of the most formidable obstacles to good government. All the sugar estates in Trinidad, amounting to 181, might have been located on each side of a line of road, forty-five miles in length, giving to each half a mile of frontage. The executive in the centre might then have communicated with any individual under the government in an hour. One court-house, one gaol, and one hospital, would have served the whole population, and perfect precision and punctuality might have accompanied every proceeding. As it is, the Governor can rarely expect to receive an answer to his communications from the nearest districts until the following day, and from the distant ones it may be a fortnight. There is no post in the island, and all letters must be intrusted to private conveyance. There is but one hospital in the colony, to which it is difficult and expensive to convey patients from a distance, and frequently impossible when seriously injured or extremely low. There are but two or three gaols to which prisoners can be committed before trial, so that civil and criminal justice may be said to be literally suspended in the distant districts: nominally there is a police, and certainly a most expensive one, but it is totally inefficient and inadequate to its duties; and many districts are without clergymen or medical practitioners. These evils must be solely imputed to the way in which estates are scattered over the country, and can only be removed now by an increased population, for the Treasury cannot afford to expend more than it does for these purposes.

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If all the expenses incurred, directly and indirectly, by the inhabitants in consequence of their dispersion, could be accurately calculated,—the loss and destruction of horses, mules, and cattle, from the state of the roads—of property, from the Crops frequently not being carried to market in due season—of loss of

time, when the acquisition of the commonest domestic article necessitates a journey—and of life, when a surgeon or physician cannot be procured in time:—if all these, and an infinity of other losses to which all new settlements are generally subject, could be accurately calculated, it would be found, beyond all conception, the cheapest mode of proceeding to commence a colony with a railroad.

408. The work itself would create a new subdivision of employment, advantageous to an infant colony at the period in which it is naturally most pressed with difficulties, by transferring the whole first cost, consideration and planning of the roads, either upon the Government or a company in the mother country; and the manual labour required upon it would be made advantageously subservient to the purposes of colonial government, as the road could be made and extended whenever employment was scarce and wages low, and advantageously suspended when labour was in great demand by the agricultural community. Every individual in Trinidad who has reflected upon the subject is convinced of the utility and economy of railroads in that island; that in no part of the world could they be more easily and cheaply constructed; and that by their assistance, and an increased population, the whole island could be brought into sugar cultivation as fast as the roads could be formed.
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## Appendix (O.)

Trinidad.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the COLONIAL REVENUE, for each Year from 1832 to 1840, both inclusive.

BRANCHES OF REVENUE.	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.	1836.	1837.	1838.	1839.	1840.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Duties on Imports	4,096	4,620	4,972	5,355	7,823	10,175	8,565	8,521	11,443
Duties on Exports	9,068	11,101	12,823	12,053	16,470	14,536	14,714	14,819	15,189
Duties on Wines and Spirits	461	886	882	637	2,179	2,673	1,505	961	2,430
Transient Tax	2	45	1	-	16	-	1	-	-
Foreign Duties, from the Collector of Customs	1,837	2,944	3,193	2,783	5,024	8,991	9,178	17,430	19,504
Tonnage Dues	957	947	1,795	2,995	3,229	3,663	3,256	3,612	4,120
Wharf Dues	32	71	45	87	93	180	155	189	183
Slave Tax	9,877	5,142	5,282	1,940	-	-	-	-	-
Idem—Arrears	463	269	3	-	6,698	51	-	-	-
Apprentice Tax	-	-	-	-	2,496	2,122	-	-	-
Idem—Arrears	-	-	-	-	-	1	1,403	-	-
House Tax	2,400	1,052	-	-	-	-	98	-	-
Idem—Arrears	142	13	1,032	1,235	1,396	1,405	1,440	1,506	1,881
Quit-rents, and Sale of Crown Lands	137	233	103	499	2,498	123	7	1,179	614
Judicial Fines	13	60	5	525	271	55	22	1,679	2,698
Fees of Public Offices	1,483	4,304	5,896	82	249	225	415	607	5,270
Spirit Licenses, Port Spain	-	-	-	4,290	5,104	3,860	3,418	4,126	2,708
Idem—Rural Districts	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,744	2,708	1,625
3½ per Cent. Duties on Imports and Exports collected at San Fernando	-	-	-	-	-	-	116	1,242	-
Miscellaneous	217	1,017	1,066	-	-	-	189	-	379
	31,185	32,704	37,841	38,813	53,951	48,349	48,750	58,643	68,790

10th March 1841.

(signed) *Ja. Walker*, Colonial Treasurer.

## Appendix (P.)

Trinidad.

A RETURN of the NUMBER of IMMIGRANTS who have arrived in the Colony, from the 1st January 1839 to the 30th June 1841 (two years and a half), the Expense of whose Passage has been paid from the Colonial Treasury.

WHERE FROM.	1839.				1840.				1st Half-year, 1841.				GRAND TOTAL.		
	M.	F.	Total.	Amount Paid.	M.	F.	Total.	Amount Paid.	M.	F.	Total.	Amount Paid.			
	GRENADA	267	91	358	Amount paid in 1839, £, 2,691. 7s. 5d. sterling.	115	87	202	Amount paid in 1840, £, 6,345. 13s. 3d.	107	112	219		Amount paid to 30 June 1841, £, 3,678. 18s. 8d.	779
DOMINICA	30	9	39	9		11	20	1		3	4	12	63		5
BARBADOS	24	3	27	-		102	233	40		42	82	14	109		10
NEVIS	40	9	49	131		61	103	158		175	333	14	615		14
TORTOLA	30	17	47	42		17	19	21		27	48	16	198		6
CARRIACOU	11	2	13	12		17	19	81		87	168	14	290		14
MONTERRAT	32	12	44	40		38	78	9		13	22	14	140		14
ANTIGUA	12	2	14	53		51	104	-		-	-	14	290		14
ST. LUCIA	20	-	20	5		1	6	17		18	35	10	26		10
ST. KITTS	31	1	32	124		122	246	24		25	49	8	78		8
ST. VINCENT	11	2	13	10		6	16	1		1	2	15	63		15
SABA	-	-	-	60		1	61	6		6	12	16	39		16
ANGUILLA	16	9	25	1		1	2	15		14	29	30	982		30
UNITED STATES	202	109	311	352		290	642	85		85	170	30	170		30
SIERRA LEONE	-	-	-	-		-	-	726		266	992	-	-		-
					954	778	1,732	565	608	1,173	-	-	3,897		

19 July 1841.

Thomas F. Johnston, Agent-General of Immigrants.

## Appendix (Q)

PRODUCE of *Trinidad* Exported, from 1821 to 1839.

Date.	Sugar.			Molasses.		Rum.	Cocoa.	Coffee.
	<i>Hhds.</i>	<i>Trs.</i>	<i>Brls.</i>	<i>Hhds.</i>	<i>Trs.</i>	<i>Puns.</i>	<i>Pounds.</i>	<i>Pounds.</i>
1821	20,412	576	7,999	2,730	-	1,208	1,214,093	199,555
1822	20,051	714	7,908	2,932	-	761	1,780,379	347,399
1823	23,662	510	7,038	6,245	-	566	2,424,703	299,404
1824	23,362	882	6,856	7,409	-	471	2,661,628	264,637
1825	22,512	1,370	7,890	7,896	-	68	2,760,603	177,348
1826	25,541	1,358	8,075	8,672	-	353	2,951,171	321,254
1827	26,075	1,320	7,618	9,694	-	589	3,696,144	273,424
1828	29,605	1,067	6,634	11,320	306	285	2,582,323	266,754
1829	30,629	877	5,184	10,686	596	559	2,756,603	199,015
1830	19,812	480	3,781	4,846	168	258	1,646,531	197,860
1831	23,756	449	5,500	8,297	94	853	1,888,852	19,994
1832	25,912	774	6,805	10,977	504	65	1,530,990	150,966
1833	22,761	533	5,165	9,964	590	13	3,090,526	376,959
1834	26,280	1,093	5,535	11,958	592	59	3,363,630	170,825
1835	22,434	1,125	4,768	9,458	577	115	2,744,643	102,707
1836	23,965	1,367	4,928	9,562	782	59	3,188,870	219,994
1837	22,925	1,087	3,622	8,842	666	11	2,507,483	194,740
1838	20,721	1,210	2,679	7,239	596	130	2,571,915	451,437
1839	20,044	1,310	3,538	7,715	444	112	2,914,068	212,982

*Trinidad Almanac*, 1840.

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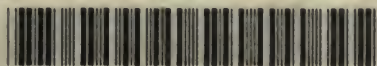
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